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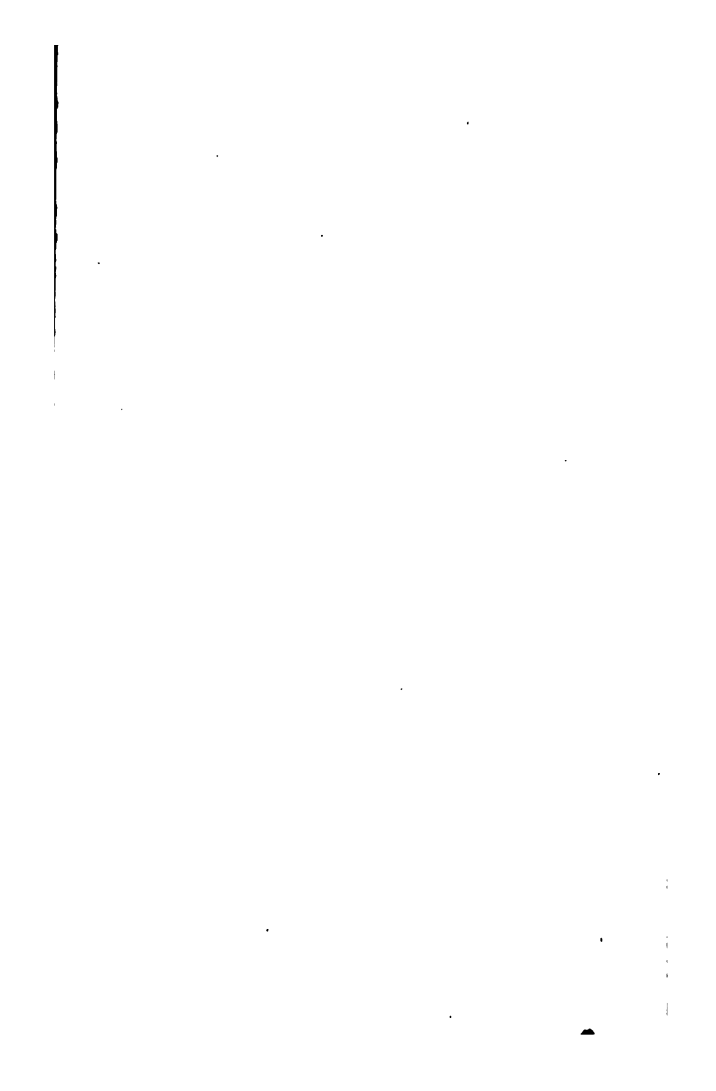
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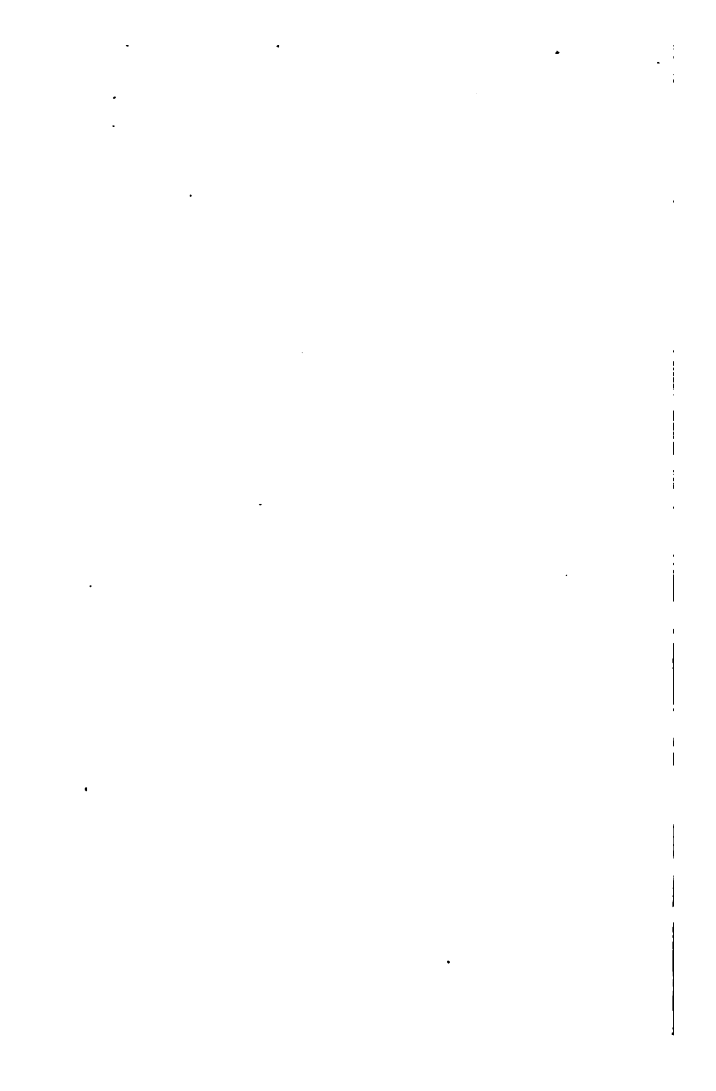
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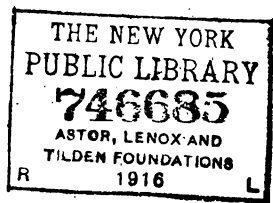
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The Percy Histories.

LONDON.

Lo! numerous domes, a Burlington confess:
For Kings and Senates fit, the palace see!
The temple breathing a religious awe.

Thomson.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

IT is certain that not long after the first introduction of Christianity into this island, London was erected into a bishop's see; but at what particular period or by whom does not appear. In the list of ecclesiastics, who formed the second general council held at Arles, in France, in 326, we have the presence of a Bishop of London recorded in these terms: "*Ex Provincia Britanniae Civitate Londinensi Restitutus Episcopus.*" Joceline of Furnes, in his book of British Bishops, says, that this Restitutus was the twelfth bishop of London; but no dependence can be placed on the accuracy of his list. The catalogue of our kings from Brute the son of Eneas, the son of Venus, down to King Lud, is quite as authentic. When the persecution under Dioclesian drove Christianity to

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B

take shelter in the mountainous parts of Cornwall and Wales, another long night of Pagan darkness overshadowed the banks of the Thames.

It was not till the time of Pope Gregory the Great, that Augustine, who has been called the Apostle of the English, restored the light of the gospel. Among his first converts was Ethelbert, King of Kent, who, about 610, erected London of new into a bishop's see, and founded St. Paul's cathedral.

Of the bishops who filled this see till the arrival of the Normans, the only one whose name still lives in the memory of men, was that noted saint and magician Dunstan. No less than three churches in and around London have been dedicated to him : one " in the west," another " in the east," and a third at Stepney.

William, the first bishop under the Norman line, was held by the citizens of London, in grateful remembrance for many centuries, for his good offices in prevailing with William the First, to grant them the ample recognition which he did of their ancient rights and franchises. His remains were interred in St. Paul's cathedral, and a monument erected to his memory by the corporation, on which they inscribed in warm terms the obligations which he had conferred on the city—

Reddita libertas duce
Te ; donatq. multis,
Te duce, Res fuerat
Publica Muneribus.

For a long time the corporation made it one of their principal duties on Lord Mayor's Day, to do homage at the shrine of this restorer of their liberties, and

even as late as the reign of James the First, the custom still subsisted. The monument however had by this time disappeared, and the place of the inscription been supplied by the following rhymes, affixed to an adjoining pillar by Sir Edward Barkham, who was Lord Mayor in 1622 :

WALKERS whosoe're you be,
If it prove your chance to see,
Upon a solemn scarlet day,
The city senate pass this way,
Their grateful memory to shew
Which they the rev'rend ashes owe
Of Bishop Norman here inhum'd,
By whom this city hath assum'd
Large priviledges : those obtain'd
By him when Conqueror William reign'd.
This being by thankful Barkham's mind renew'd,
Call it the *Monument of Gratitude*.

Gilbert Foliot, who succeeded in 1163 to the bishopric of London, is described as the first English bishop that was ever canonically translated from one see to another. He had previously been Bishop of Hereford, and owed his promotion to his learning, wisdom, and loyalty. Matthew Paris makes use of an amusing fable to illustrate the character of this respectable prelate. We are told, that as he lay musing in his bed one night, after a long conference with Henry II. on the subject of the differences between that monarch and Archbishop Becket, to whose arrogant pretensions Foliot was stoutly opposed, a terrible voice sounded in his ears, "*O Gilbert Foliot dum revolvis tot tot, Deus tuus est Ascaroth !*" The worthy

bishop, confident in his own probity, thus boldly made answer: "*Mentiris dæmon: Deus meus est Deus Sabaqth.*"

During the episcopate of Eustace de Falconbridge, who was appointed to the see in 1221, a great dispute arose with respect to a right of exemption claimed by the abbots and monks of Westminster, from the jurisdiction of the bishops of London. The matter was referred to the pope, and by his holiness remitted to the archbishop of Canterbury, and some other heads of the church, who decided that Westminster abbey, and the adjoining church of St. Margaret, should be, as they have ever since continued, independent of the see of London.

Fulco Basset, "a man stout and corragious," filled the see of London, at that troubled period of our history, when the Pope, by his Legate Rustand, shared with Henry the Third, in those schemes of spoliation, by which the people of England were, during the reign of that monarch, so much oppressed. Basset steadily refused lending his countenance to the exactions, which were attempted to be imposed on the clergy of his diocese, and when threatened with deprivation, he made this spirited answer, that "though he might be unjustly deprived of his mitre and crosier, ne still hoped to be able to retain *his helmet and sword.*"

In 1292, there occurred a remarkable instance of collision between the claims of the Bishop of this diocese and the citizens. The Bishopric had a manor attached to it, situated in the parish of Stepney, on which there grew "two faire woods." Richard de Gravesend, the Bishop at that period, wished to enclose

these woods for a deer park, and with that view obtained a grant of free warren from the king. The Mayor, Aldermen, and commonalty, however, would not permit the project to be carried into execution, contending successfully that time out of memory, "they had used to take and hunt within the aforesaid woods and without, hares, foxes, conies, and other beasts, where and when they would."

Simon de Sudbury, who filled this see at the time when Wickliff began the work of Reformation, presents in his unhappy fate a memorable example of the fickleness of popular favour.

When, in 1376, Wickliff was, by the command of the Pope, summoned before the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, to answer for the tenets contained in what was called the Lollard's Creed; he appeared before them, accompanied by his friends and protectors, the Duke of Lancaster and Earl Marshal. The Earl Marshal, having insisted that Wickliff should be allowed a seat during his examination, the following curious dialogue ensued.

"Bishop of London. If I could have guessed, Lord Percy, that you would have played the master here, I would have prevented your coming.

Duke of Lancaster. Yes, he shall play the master here for all of you.

Lord Percy. Wickliff, sit down! You have need of a seat, for you have many things to say.

Bishop. It is unreasonable that a clergyman cited before the ordinary should sit during his answer. He shall stand!

Duke of Lancaster. My Lord Percy, you are in the right. And for you, my Lord Bishop, who are grown

so proud and arrogant, I will take care to humble your pride ; and not only yours, my Lord, but that of all the prelates in England. Thou dependest on the credit of thy relations, but so far from being able to help thee, they will have enough to do to support themselves.

Bishop. I place no confidence in my relations, but in God alone, who will give me the boldness to speak the truth.

Duke of Lancaster. (Speaking to Lord Percy.) Rather than take this at the bishop's hands, I will drag him by the hair of the head out of the church."

A crowd of citizens interposed, to protect the bishop from the execution of this indecent threat ; and the duke and earl marshal were glad to secure their own safety by a hasty retreat. The populace afterwards evinced their resentment of the indignity which their bishop had received, by a riotous attack on the Duke of Lancaster's house in the Savoy, and by other outrages. (*See vol. i. p. 192.*)

On the breaking out, a few years after, of Wat Tyler's insurrection, Sudbury, who had by that time been promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, received, at the hands of a mob, the very fate from which a mob had before most probably protected him. When the rebels burst into the Tower, the archbishop was on his knees in the chapel, employed in prayer and supplication. The noise of the rushing throng broke on his ear. " Let us now rise," said he placidly to his attendants, " and go ; surely it is best to die when it is no pleasure to live." The words were scarcely uttered, when a party of the rebels rushed into the chapel, calling out furiously, " Where is the

traitor?" "Behold the archbishop," replied Sudbury, "whom you seek, but who is no traitor." The ruffians laid instantly violent hands upon him, and dragged him forth to the usual place of execution on Tower-hill. He seized upon the interval employed in preparing the block, to address the multitude; desired to know what offence he had committed, and warned them to take heed how, by the slaying of their pastor, they brought not on them the indignation of the Just Avenger. But finding all remonstrances in vain, he prepared to suffer with dignity and resignation. The sword seems to have trembled in the execution of its dreadful office; for it was not till the ninth stroke that the head was severed from the body. After the first blow the unhappy victim put up his hand to his neck, and was heard to exclaim, "*It is the hand of God.*"

At the Council of Constance, in 1414, Robert Clifford, bishop of London, and several other eminent ecclesiastics, attended as the representatives of the Church of England. He was one of the thirty cardinals-extraordinary created on that occasion, and was even nominated to the purple on the deposition of the three rival popes of that period, but lost the election, which terminated in favour of Cardinal Odo Calonna, Pope Martin the Fifth.

The sanguinary Henry VIII. gave to this diocese the equally sanguinary Bonner. On the establishment of the reformed religion under Edward VI. he was displaced by the pious Ridley; but on the restoration of popery, under Mary, the "high priest of blood," as he has been well named, was reinstated in the see, and Ridley exchanged his mitre for a crown of martyrdom. When Elizabeth came to the throne, Bonner

was among the bishops who hastened to tender their allegiance to the new queen, as she was on her way from Hatfield to London; but her majesty, shocked with the recollection of his cruelties, refused to see him. He was degraded from his office and thrown into the Marshalsea, where he perished miserably.

John King, who was promoted to be bishop of London by James the First, was remarkable for his eloquence in the pulpit, and hence styled by that facetious monarch the *King of preachers*. His successor was of name still happier in a punning age, for it was said to have enabled the king to effect a miracle, by throwing a *Mountain* into the *sea* (see). George Mountain, who was translated from the bishopric of Lincoln to that of London, became afterwards archbishop of York; thus verifying an old saying, that he who "*Lincoln was, London is, York shall be.*"

The next bishops of London were Laud and Juxon, the one celebrated for his active participation in those measures which brought his royal master to the scaffold; and the other for his courageous fidelity, in administering to the unhappy Charles the consolations of religion, not only during his trial, but in his last moments.

In the catholic reign of James II. Henry Compton, bishop of London, was styled, by way of pre-eminence, the *Protestant bishop*, on account of the noble stand which he made in defence of the rights of the Protestant church, against the encroachments of that prince. He had been a soldier in his youth, when the country was torn with civil wars; and proved now a courageous champion of the sacred

order of which he had become a member. King James once observed to him, after a discussion between them on some point of difference, that "he talked more like a colonel than a bishop." Compton smartly replied, "that his Majesty did him honour in taking notice of his having formerly drawn his sword in defence of the constitution, and *that he would do the same again if he lived to see it necessary.*" The bishop was as good as his word. From the very commencement of James's measures for the establishment of despotism, Compton was to be found in the foremost rank of opposition. The king having, in one of his speeches to parliament, broached sentiments hostile to the rights of the subject, the bishop animadverted upon them with freedom and severity, and moved, that they should be made the subject of a special inquiry. Although this conduct might have taught James that he had nothing in the shape of concession to expect from Compton, it did not prevent his sending to him; shortly after, a letter, desiring that he would forthwith suspend Dr. Sharp, rector of St. Giles's in the fields, "from farther preaching in any parish church or chapel in his diocese, till satisfaction had been given" by the doctor for presuming to expose, in his sermons, the errors of popery, and thereby, as James declared, endeavouring "to beget an evil opinion of him and his government." The bishop promptly made answer, "that he could not proceed otherwise than by the established law, and as a judge; and that, by such law, no judge could condemn any man before he had knowledge of the cause, and the parties had been cited to answer the accusation." The king, deeply

incensed at his refusal, resolved to make the bishop feel all the weight of his vengeance. The high commission court which had been abolished by parliament, 1640, was, by the advice of the infamous Jeffries, revived, under the name of the Court of Delegates, for the express purpose of punishing Compton. Being cited to appear before it, to answer for his disobedience, he demanded a copy of the commission by which it pretended to exercise judicial authority. Jeffries refused to give him any satisfaction on this head, telling him, insultingly, that "the commission might be had in any coffee-house." Compton then firmly denied the legality of its jurisdiction, and maintained that, "as a bishop, he had no judge but his metropolitan." The court, however, heedless of his protestations, proceeded to decree, that he should be suspended from his episcopal functions, for the act of disobedience of which he had been guilty. Compton had now "lived to see the time when it would be necessary again to draw his sword in defence of the constitution ;" and, true to his promise, he appeared in arms at Nottingham, at the head of a troop of gentlemen, and their attendants, prepared to support the elevation of the Prince of Orange to the throne.

Among the bishops of London since the restoration, the names of Sherlock, Lowth, and Porteous, have been justly distinguished for those qualities which, in times of domestic peace and tranquillity, do most honour to the clerical character, learning and piety.

The Bishop of London ranks, in dignity, next to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. The dio-

cese comprehends not only Middlesex, Essex, and part of Hertfordshire, but the British plantations in America. The following parishes in the city are, however, exempt from the bishop's jurisdiction, being peculiars, under the immediate government of the Archbishop of Canterbury: viz. Allhallows, Bread-street; Allhallows, Lombard-street; St. Dionis, Back-church; St. Dunstan in the East; St. John the Baptist; St. Leonard, Eastcheap; St. Mary Aldermary; St. Mary Bothaw; St. Mary le Bow; St. Michael Royal; St. Pancras, Soper-lane; and St. Vedast, Foster-lane.

The chapter consists of the bishop, a dean, a precentor, or chanter, a chancellor, a treasurer, five archdeacons, (styled of London, Middlesex, Essex, Colchester, and St. Albans,) thirty canons or prebendaries, twelve minor canons, six vicars choral, a sub-dean, and other inferior officers.

The election to the bishopric, in cases of vacancy, is vested in the dean and chapter; but the right is now reduced to a mere matter of form, the person recommended by the king's writ of *Congé d'elire*, being invariably chosen.

The sum at which the see is entered in the king's books, is 1000*l.*; but it is estimated to be worth, at least, 12,000*l.* per annum.

The bishop has, in common with other prelates, the power of holding courts, for the trial and punishment of spiritual offences within his diocese; and possesses a privilege which no other judge possesses; namely, that of delegating his authority to a chancellor, suffragan, or other officer. The writs of the bishop's court too, proceed not in the name of the king,

but of the bishop ; thus distinctly is the line drawn, in this country, between the spiritual and temporal authorities.

THE OLD CATHEDRAL OF ST. PAUL.

The early historians of London have been very anxious to prove, that St. Paul's cathedral occupies the same site on which the Romans had dedicated a temple to Diana ; in the same manner as Westminster Abbey is fabulously said to have arisen on the ruins of a temple of Apollo. The opinion, however, rests only on a tradition, that a great many bones of animals had been dug up at this spot, and on an inference, by no means self-evident, that these were remains of heathen sacrifices. When Sir Christopher Wren, however, opened and explored the whole of the ground in order to lay the foundations for the present cathedral, he met with no relics of this description, nor any thing else which furnished the least countenance to the popular notion. " I must assert," he says, " that, having changed all the foundation of Old St. Paul's, and upon that occasion rummaged all the ground thereabouts, and being very desirous to find some footsteps of such a temple, I could not discover any, and can therefore give no more credit to Diana than to Apollo."

It does not indeed appear certain, that any Christian church was erected on this spot till long after the first introduction of Christianity into Britain. The new faith had been nearly expelled the island, but restored, through the apostolic labours of Augustine,

before we find any trace of such a structure. The "Apostle of the English," as Augustine was called, found a patron in Ethelbert, king of Kent, and it appears to have been this monarch, who, in 1619, first founded a cathedral here, dedicated it to St. Paul, and endowed it with the manor of Tillingham and other lands.

What might have been the character of the building in its primitive state, is not known. That it was of wood is certain, since stone buildings, which William of Malmsbury tells us were deemed miraculous by the Britons, had not yet formed a part of ecclesiastical architecture; and that it became for the period no mean structure we may infer, since Dugdale assures us, that in 675, Erkenwald, then Bishop of London, "bestowed great cost on the fabrick thereof, augmenting its revenues very much with his own estate."

During the Saxon heptarchy, this church flourished much. Kenred, king of Mercia, declared it to be as free in all its rights, as he himself desired to be at the day of judgement. Athelstan endowed it with one hundred and six farms, messuages, &c. Edgar gave it twenty-five mansions, besides a considerable sum in money, and his wife, Eglefede, two lordships. All these grants were confirmed by the charters of Ethelred and Canute, which solemnly denounce curses on all who dare to violate this place of worship. Edward the Confessor, also, endowed it liberally, so that "great was the esteem that this cathedral then had."

On the landing of William the Norman, he seized on some of the revenues of St. Paul's; but no sooner

was he seated on the throne, than he restored them, and confirmed all its privileges,

In 1086, the wooden cathedral was laid in ashes by a conflagration which destroyed the greater part of the city ; but this event made way for a more magnificent building than had ever been raised for the purposes of devotion in this kingdom. To the pious zeal of the bishops, Maurice and De Belmeis, London was chiefly indebted for this new edifice. The latter is said to have devoted the whole of his revenue to the undertaking. The steeple, which was of timber, was finished in 1221 ; the quire in 1240 ; and, in 1283, the cathedral, nearly as it stood in point of magnitude, previous to the great fire, was finally completed, with the exception of the pavement, which was not made until the year 1312, when the whole was paved with " good and firm marble, which cost five-pence the foot."

About this period, an exact survey was made of the church ; and its dimensions, according to Dugdale, were stupendous. In length, it measured six hundred and ninety feet ; and in breadth, one hundred and thirty feet ; the height of the body of the church was one hundred and fifty feet ; and the space of ground comprehended within the walls was three acres and a half, one rood and a half, and six perches. The height of the tower and spire from the level ground was five hundred and twenty feet ; the ball, above the head of the spire, was so large, that it would contain within it ten bushels of corn ; the length of the cross, above the ball, or pomel, was fifteen feet ; and the traverse of the cross, six feet.

The number of chapels, chantries, shrines, and

monuments included within this sacred fane, serves to give a still higher idea of its magnitude. Dugdale enumerates no less than seventy-six chantry chapels, and sixty endowed anniversary obits ; and not fewer than two hundred priests are supposed to have been required to perform the various duties of these establishments.

The building was in the Norman style, and is supposed to have presented one of the earliest and finest examples of the use of pointed arches in this country.

The decorations, within the walls, corresponded in richness and splendour with the magnificence of the exterior. The high altar shone all over with precious stones, and was surrounded with images, "beautifully wrought." At the right side of it, there was an oil painting of St. Paul, "placed in a tabernacle of wood," which is said to have been a masterly performance, and must have been at least curious for its great antiquity, having been executed in 1398, at a cost of 12*l.* 6*s.* Near the altar was the shrine of St. Erkenwald, which was for many ages a favorite resort of the pious, and is described to have been quite a prodigy of splendour. In 1392, the dean and chapter employed three goldsmiths for a whole year in gilding and decorating it. Among the precious stones with which the votaries of the saint had enriched it, were "the best sapphire stones" of Richard Preston, of London, grocer ; who, confiding in the reputed virtues of this class of gems, ordered that they should "there remain for curing diseases of the eyes." Another shrine, nearly as celebrated, was that of Roger Niger, who was made bishop in 1229 ; Mathew Paris records, that miracles were frequently wrought at it. In the body of the church,

there was, says Dugdale, "a glorious image of the Blessed Virgin;" and, that due honour might be done it, John Burnett, bishop of Bath and Wells, bequeathed a good estate for the purpose of keeping a lamp perpetually burning, and having an anthem sung every day before it. The Blessed Mary had, besides, two chapels within the cathedral, dedicated to her; one called the Lady's chapel, at the east end, was remarkable for a rose window of extraordinary size and magnificence. The dial of the clock was also splendid, and an angel, pointing to the hour, seemed a fit memento to the passenger, of the value of time.

Among the uncanonized, but perhaps not less truly eminent personages, to whom monuments were erected in this cathedral, were "old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster;" the gallant Sydney, author of the "Arcadia;" Dean Colet, the founder of St. Paul's school; and Vandyke, the painter. Here too reposed the ashes of that great statesman, Sir Francis Walsingham, but without a stone to mark the spot. He died so poor, that his body was buried by stealth, to prevent its being arrested.

The celebration of obsequies for persons of rank, once formed a peculiar and a very profitable privilege of St. Paul's. "The state and order," says Dugdale, "observed, on these occasions, was little inferior to that used at the funerals of those great personages; the church and choir being hung with black and escutcheons of their arms; their hersees set up in wonderful magnificence, adorned with rich banner rolls, &c. and environed with banners; having chief mourners and assistants, accompanied by several bishops and abbots in their proper habits; the ambassadors of

foreign princes, many of our nobility, the knights of the garter, the lord mayor, and the several companies of London, who all attended with great devotion at these ceremonies."

The cathedral is said to have been encompassed by a wall, as early as the year 1109 ; but, if so, it had been suffered to fall to decay, since Edward I. complained, that by the lurking of thieves in the church-yard, various robberies and homicides were committed there, and he ordered it to be enclosed with a wall on every side, with falling gates and posterns, which were to be opened every morning, and closed at night.

On the north side of the inclosure, stood the chancel, in which the bones of the dead were piled, until they had so accumulated, that a thousand loads were, in the reign of Edward VI. removed to Finsbury fields, where however they were not suffered to corrupt the air with their pestiferous exhalations, but covered with earth. On the mound thus formed three windmills were erected.

The ceremonies observed in the cathedral were very splendid, particularly at the anniversaries of the conversion and commemoration of St. Paul, the consecration of the church, and the canonization of St. Erkenwald. The first of these was attended with a singular observance. In the third year of the reign of Edward the First, Sir William le Baud, knight, settled property for an offering on behalf of himself and his heirs, of a doe yearly in winter, on the day of the conversion of St. Paul, and a fat buck in summer on the day of the commemoration of the same saint, to be presented at the high altar in St. Paul's, and

then distributed among the resident canons. This offering was a species of tenure, by which Sir William held twenty-two acres of land, which the canons had granted to him. The buck and doe were, until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, regularly presented and received with great formality at the steps of the choir by the resident canons, clothed in their sacred vestments with garlands of flowers on their heads. Camden, who had witnessed the ceremony, says, the horns of the buck were carried on a spear in procession, round the inside of the church, the men blowing horns. When the buck or doe was offered at the high altar, a shilling was (according to the will of Sir William) given, by the dean and chapter, for the entertainment of the servants who brought it.

St. Paul's was the place where, in the reign of Edward the Third, the flagellants, to the number of 120 men and women, exercised their castigations. "Each day," says Lingard, in his History of England, "at the appointed hour, they assembled, ranged themselves in two lines, and moved slowly through the streets, scourging their naked shoulders, and chanting a hymn. At a known signal, all, with the exception of the last, threw themselves flat on the ground. He, as he passed by his companions, gave each a lash, and then also lay down. The others followed in succession, till every individual, in his turn, had received a stroke from the whole brotherhood. The citizens gazed and marvelled, pitied and commended; but they ventured no farther. Their faith was too weak, or their feelings were too acute; and they allowed the strangers to monopolize to themselves this novel and extraordinary grace. The

missionaries made not a single proselyte, and were compelled to return home, with the barren satisfaction of having done their duty in the face of an unbelieving generation."

While these devotees were flogging each other in public at St. Paul's, twice a day, until the blood came, Edward the Third was complaining to the Bishop of London, of the grossest abuses in the cathedral,—that the refectory of the canons was become the eating-place and office of mechanics, the lurking-place of worthless females, and the scene of other enormities, which royal decency forbade him to mention. Other profanations of a less offensive nature appear to have prevailed in the succeeding reign, when Robert de Braybrooke, bishop of London, by a special mandate, in the 9th of Richard the Second, on pain of excommunication, prohibited any buying or selling within it, as also, that "no person should defile it, or the churchyard, nor presume to shoot arrows, or throw stones at crows, or any birds making their nests thereabouts; or, to play at handball, either within or without it."

After the battle of Bosworth-field, which gave to the Earl of Richmond a victory and a crown, the king, on arriving in London, "rode through the city to the cathedral church of St. Paul, (says a MS. in the Lansdown collection, No. 250,) where he offered his three standards: in the one was the image of St. George; in the second was a fiery dragon, beaten upon white and green sarsnet; the third was a yellow targe, in which was painted a dun cow; and, after prayers and *Te Deum* was sung, he departed to the Bishop's palace, and there sojourned a season."

On the 6th. of April, 1492, the nobles, with the lord mayor and corporation, attended St. Paul's in great state, when Dr. Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor, addressed them in a long oration, on occasion of the King of Spain having taken Granada from the Moors. *Te Deum* was sung and great rejoicings followed.

Queen Mary, of detested memory, seems to have had particular attention paid to her at St. Paul's; not, however, in the solemn rites of the church, but in amusements, rather befitting a theatre than a place of worship. On one occasion, when the queen rode through the city to Westminster, as she passed through St. Paul's churchyard, a Dutchman, of the name of Peter, stood on the weathercock of St. Paul's steeple, holding a streamer in his hand, five yards long, and, waving it, stood some time on one foot, at the same time shaking the other; "and then," says Stowe, "kneeling on his knees, to the great marvail of all the people." The Dutchman had, however, adopted the precaution of constructing two scaffolds under him, which would have saved his life, had he fallen from this perilous height. The city gave him twenty-five marks for his "cost and paines;" which, though not much, was a better reward than James the First bestowed on the man who climbed to the top of Salisbury cathedral; the king conferring on him a patent for performing the feat exclusively.

On the marriage of Philip and Mary, when the king and queen passed the churchyard, "a fellow," says Stowe, "came slipping upon a cord, as an arrow out of a bow, from Paul's steeple to the ground, and

lighted with his head forwards on a sort of feather bed, and after he climbed up the cord again, and did certain feats," all of which were repeated on the coronation of Edward VI.

Old St. Paul's was the scene, however, of more imposing ceremonies than mere pageants. It was here that the pusillanimous King John signed the resignation of his crown and kingdom to the haughty legate of the pope. Here too, Queen Elizabeth publicly returned thanks to the Deity, for the victory over the Spanish armada; and the colours taken from the enemy still stream in gloomy triumph, under the sacred dome of the cathedral.

It must be confessed, however, that in later times, St. Paul's had lost, in the eyes of the people, much if not all of that sacredness and solemnity with which it was originally regarded. The terrors of excommunication by which it was endeavoured, in the time of Richard the Second, to guard it from profanation, had either gradually lost their power, or ceased to be fulminated by the priesthood; for, long even before the zeal of the reformers lent its aid to the destruction and defilement of our sacred places, St. Paul's had fallen into "a household commonness," and the visits to her altars and shrines, to a "most cheap familiarity."

In the reign of Philip and Mary, we find, that the cathedral was a place of common resort and thoroughfare; and that, not only porters and carriers of goods, but beasts of burden were suffered to pass through it. The dean and chapter, too, instead of checking this concourse, turned it to their profit, by imposing a toll on each passenger, as we learn from the following

lines which were affixed to a pillar over an iron box kept to receive donations :

“ All those that shall enter within the church doore
With burden or basket, must give to the poore ;
And, if there be any aske, what they must paye
To this box ? a penny—ere they pass away.”

The abuse at length became so flagrant, that an act of common council was issued to restrain it. This act, which was dated the 1st of August, in the first year of the reign of Philip and Mary, gives a curious picture of the manners of the time. It states, that

“ Forasmuch as the material temples of God were first ordained for the lawful and devout assembly of people, there to lift up their hearts, and to laud and praise Almighty God, and to hear his divine service, and most holy word and gospel, sincerely said, sung, and taught ; and not to be used as markets, or other profane places or thoroughfares, with carriage of things. And, for that now of late years, many of the inhabitants of the city of London, and other people repairing thither, have, and yet do commonly use and accustom themselves very unseemly and irreverently, the more the pity, to make the common carriage of great vessels full of ale and beer, great baskets full of bread, fish, flesh, and such other things ; fardels [packs] of stuff, and other gross wares, and things, through the cathedral church of St. Paul's. And some in leading moyles, [mules,] horses, and other beasts, through the same university, to the great dishonour and displeasure of Almighty God, and the great grief also, and offence of all good people.”

The act then proceeds to impose a fine on all future offenders of 3s. 4d. for the first offence, 6s. 8d. for the second, and 10s. for the third, with two nights' imprisonment.

It would appear, however, that these penalties had not at all been enforced: for, in the very next reign, we find the same abuses, not only unabated, but much aggravated; the cathedral was still a common passage for goods, and what was worse, the chapels and chantries, were converted into workshops for mechanics who pursued their business during divine service; and the vaults into wine cellars. Many shops, and houses too, were built against the outer walls of the cathedral; and, even "a play house" is said to have been among the erections with which the exterior was thus disfigured.

If we may credit the assertions in an old tract, entitled "Burnynge of Paules Church in London, in the year of our Lord 1561," the money-changers had, more particularly, carried on their traffic in this temple. The author also points out the different places where business of various sorts was carried on, like the separate walks in the Royal Exchange. "The south alley for usurye and poperye; the north, for simony and the horse faire; in the midst, for all kind of bargains, meetings, brawlings, murthers, conspiracies; and the font, for ordinary paiements of money, are so well knownen to all menne, as the begger knows his dishe."

Dehker too, in his tract, "the Dead Learmi," after describing the company walking in the church, as of all classes, knights, doctors, scholars, citizens, beggars, thieves, &c. says, "thus, whilst devotion kneelis at

her prayers, doth profanation walke under her nose,
in contempt of religion."

The simony and trading in benefices carried on in St. Paul's, appear to have been long known. Chaucer alludes to the fact in the prologue to his "*Canterbury Tales*," and Bishop Hall, in one of his satires, broadly states it as notorious. Advertisements were openly posted on the doors of St. Paul's, for the sale and purchase of benefices, beginning usually with the words *Si quis*, a circumstance thus alluded to by Bishop Hall.

"Saw'st thou ever *Si quis* patch'd on Paul's church
door,

To seek some vacant vicarage before?

Who wants a churchman, that can service say,

Read, fast and faire, his monthly homiley?

And wed and bury, and make Christen soules?

Come to the left side alley of Saint Pauls,

Thou servile foole : why couldst thou not repaire

To buy a benefice at steeple faire?

There moughtest thou, for but a slender price,

Advowson thee with some fat benefice :

Or, if thee list not wait for dead men's shoon,

Nor pray ech morn, th' incumbent's daies were
done ;

A thousand patrons thither, ready bring

Their new-falne churches to the chaffering ;

Stake three years' stipend ; no man asketh more :

Go take possession of the church-porch doore,

And ring thy bells."

It is a coincidence somewhat curious, that the cathedral church, which was thus made a market for

simony, had for one of its bishops, the first Simonist of whom we read in English history. On the death, in 664, of Cedda, the second bishop of London, after the revival of Christianity, the place was supplied by Wina, a Frenchman, who had been expelled from Winchester, and is stated to have purchased the see of London, from Wulfhere, king of Mercia.

St. Paul's cathedral became now, from the general resort to it as a place of lounging and business, better known by the name of *Paul's Walk*—the Bond-street of its day. In the *Microsmography* of Bishop Earle, printed in 1628, there is an essay, under the head of "Paul's Walk," in which he presents us with the following lively picture of the walkers.

"Paul's Walk," says Bishop Earle, "is the land's epitome, or you may call it the lesser Isle of Great Britain. It is, more than this, the whole world's map, which you may here discern with its perfectest motion, justling and turning. It is a heap of stones and of men, with a vast confusion of languages, and were the steeple not sanctified, no more like Babel. The noise in it, is like that of bees, a strange humming of buzz, mixed of walking tongues and feet. It is a kind of still roar or loud whisper. It is the great exchange of all discourse, and no business whatsoever, but is here stirring and afoot. It is the synod of all pates politic, jointed and laid together in most serious posture, and they are not half so busy at the parliament. It is the antick of tails to tails, and backs to backs; and, for vizards, you need go no farther than faces. It is the market of young lecturers, whom you may cheapen here at all rates and sizes. It is the general mint of all famous lies, which are here like

the legends of popery, first coined and stamped in the church. All inventions are emptied here, and not few pockets. The best sign of a temple in it, is, that it is the thieves' sanctuary, which rob more safely in the crowd than a wilderness, whilst every searcher is a bush to hide them. It is the other expense of the day after plays, tavern, and ———, and men have still some oaths left to swear here. The visitants are all men, without exceptions, but the principal inhabitants and possessors are stale knights and captains out of service, men of long rapiers and breeches, which after all turn merchants here, and traffic for news. Some make it a preface to their dinner, and travel for a stomach; but thriftier men make it their ordinary, and board here very cheap. Of all such places, it is least haunted with hobgoblins; for, if a ghost would walk there he could not."

The description of the satirical bishop has many illustrations, in the works of the contemporary wits and poets of the day. "I bought him in *Paul's*," says Falstaff, in speaking of Bardolph. Massinger, also, in his "*City Madam*," thus alludes to it as a notorious "thieves' sanctuary."

"I'll hang you both, I can but ride
You for the purse, you cut in sermon time at *Paul's*."

The scene of the third act of Ben Jonson's "*Every Man out of his Humour*," is laid principally in St. Paul's; and here too, the "*Pennyless Parliament of Threadbare Poets*," held its sessions.

The passage about thrifty men making it "their ordinaire," where they may "board verie cheape,"

has a reference to the well known phrase of "dining with Duke Humphrey," applied to persons who walk about for lack of a dinner to sit down to. "Are they none of Duke Humphrey's furies? Do you think they devised this plot to get a dinner?" (*Mulco at Midnight.*) One of the aisles of St. Paul's was called Duke Humphrey's Walk, from a popular notion, that the good Duke Humphrey of Gloucester was buried there; though the fact is, that the duke was buried at St. Albans, and the monument which the vulgar supposed to be erected to his memory, was one placed over the remains of Sir John Beauchamp, son of Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. This aisle "is much frequented at noon," says a publication of that period, entitled, "London and the Country carbadoed," with a company of Hungarians, "not walking so much for recreation as needes, and if any of these meete with a yonker, that hath his pockets well lined with silver, they will relate to him the meaning of Tycho Brahe or the North Star; and never leave flattering him in his own words, and stick as close to him as a bur upon a traveller's cloak, and never leave till he and they have saluted the Green Dragon, or the Swan behind the shambles, where I leave them."

So strong was the belief of the lower orders, in Beauchamp's tomb, being a monument of their good Duke, whose memory was deservedly cherished among them, that they were accustomed to assemble here very solemnly three times a year, when they "delivered serviceable presentations at the same monument, by strewing herbs and sprinkling water on it."

Beside the toll which, as we have before mentioned, was levied from all who passed through the cathedral "with burden and basket," there was another exaction, which took the name of *spur money*. "The gallants that wear spurs" were numerous in those days; and it was a custom with the choristers of St. Paul's, to exact a gift from all persons of this description who entered the cathedral. Among the presentments or visitations preserved at St. Paul's, there is the following, in 1598 :—"We think it a very necessary thing, that every chorister should bring with him to church a Testament in English, and turne to every chapter as it is daily read, or some other good and godly prayer booke, rather than spend theyr time in talk, and hunting after spurr money, whereon they set their whole minds, and do often abuse dyvers if they do not bestow somewhat upon them." A similar custom prevails at the present day among the choristers at Litchfield and other cathedrals.

Amidst so many profanations of this sacred place, it will not surprise the reader to find added to them that of lottery gambling.

The first lottery ever known in this country was drawn at the west door of St. Paul's Cathedral, in 1569. It consisted of 40,000 tickets, at ten shillings each, the profits of which were to be appropriated to repairing the havens of the kingdom. The drawing began on the 11th of January, and continued day and night until the 6th of May. The prizes were all in plate. Another lottery consisting of rich armour was drawn here in 1586. On both these occasions a temporary wooden house was erected next to the walls for the purpose.

It must doubtless have given pain to many a pious mind, to see this noble cathedral thus habitually profaned and degraded. Even the witty Bishop Corbett could not but cease from smiling, when he witnessed the change that had taken place. It is thus he expresses his feelings :—

“ When I pass by Paul’s and travel in the walk,
Where all our British sinners swear and talk,
Old hoary ruffians, bankrupts, soothsayers,
And youth whose cozenage is old as theirs,
And then behold the body of my lord
Trode under foot by vice, which he abhorr’d,
It woundeth me.”

Much as the cathedral suffered by the unholy traffic carried on in it, it was injured still more by the fanatical zeal of the reformers. In the days of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, they extended their proscription of idolatrous images to all sorts of ornaments, and amongst others to several beautiful and costly “portraits in brass,” that adorned the walls, which they took down and sold to coppersmiths and tinkers; nor was it until Elizabeth had issued two proclamations, in the second and fourteenth years of her reign, that these mutilations were stopped. It was during the commonwealth, however, that the cathedral suffered most. Some scaffolding, which had been erected at a great expense for repairing it, was assigned by parliament for paying the arrears of the army; and in taking it away the whole roof of the south cross fell down; the body of the church was converted into saw-pits, which were dug in several places, for sawing the timber; and the west part of the church into a sta-

ble for the horses of the soldiery ; while the portico was converted into shops for seamstresses and milliners, with lodging rooms over them ; the pillars being hacked and mangled, in order to make room for the transverse beams that were placed between them. Some other enormities, though by no means the worst, were the subject of the following proclamation, issued during the time of the commonwealth, and dated May 27, 1651.

“ Forasmuch as the inhabitants of St. Paul’s Church-yard are much disturbed, by the souldiers and others calling out to passingers and examining them, (though they goe peaceably and civilly along); and by playing at nine-pinnes at unseasonable hours; these are therefore to command all soldiers and others whom it may concern, that hereafter there shall be no examining and calling out to persons that go peaceably on their way, unless they do approach the guards; and likewise to forbear playing at nine-pinnes and other sports, from the houre of nine of the clocke in the evening until six in the morning, that so persons that are weak and indisposed to rest may not be disturbed.”

Although the body of St. Paul’s Cathedral was built of stone, yet much of the upper part of the structure was of wood, and frequently suffered by those conflagrations to which timber buildings are so liable. On the 1st of February, 1444, the steeple was set on fire by lightning, which did much damage. In 1462 it had been repaired, and a costly weather-cock, in the form of an eagle, of copper gilt, put up. A more destructive fire took place on the 4th of June, 1561, which in the course of four hours de-

stroyed nearly the whole of the spire and the roof. The citizens of London instantly subscribed £3,247. 16s. 2½d. towards repairing the cathedral. The clergy of the province of Canterbury subscribed £1,461 13s. 3d.; and these sums were augmented by the bishop of London, the two lord chief justices, and the dean, to the amount of £6,702 13s. 4½d. Queen Elizabeth also gave a thousand marks of gold, and a thousand loads of timber, to be cut in any of her forests. With these aids the roofs, one of which was made in Yorkshire, were finished; but, in consequence of the walls having been so much injured by the fire, the spire was not rebuilt.

We find the *steeple* of St. Paul's often spoken of as existing after this; thus Iniquity says, in Ben Jonson's *Devil's an Ass*, performed in 1616,

I will fetch thee a leap
From the top of Paul's steeple to the standard in
Cheap.

But this refers not properly to a spire or steeple, but to the tower that formed the foundation of the old spire, which was saved from the conflagration. Being itself as lofty as most steeples, not less than two hundred and sixty feet high, the name was very readily assigned to it in the popular tongue.

The renovation which the cathedral received at this time appears to have been very insufficient, for within fifty years after we find it a subject of lamentation that the whole fabric was sinking to decay. In 1608, it was estimated that the repairs which the cathedral indispensably required would cost £22,536; but several years more elapsed before any step was taken

to accomplish them. The merit of at length drawing the attention of the court to the subject is ascribed to a private gentleman named Henry Farley. At his earnest solicitation, King James consented to attend a sermon which was to be preached at St. Paul's, for the purpose of commencing a subscription for the repair of the edifice. James kept his promise; and on the 29th of March, 1620, rode to St. Paul's on horseback, in all the pomp of royalty. After hearing an anthem in the church, he proceeded to the cross, where Dr. King, then bishop of London, preached a sermon from a text given by his majesty, in Psalm cii. 13, 14. "Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Zion; for the time to favour her, yea, the set time is come. For thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof." After the sermon, the king and his suite dined with the bishop, and it was resolved to issue a commission for raising the necessary funds.

The Society of Antiquaries have a curious old painting on pannel, descriptive of this visit of the king, which was purchased about eighty years ago for two shillings. In one compartment the cathedral is represented without a spire, with rooks flying over it; in a gallery erected against the outer south wall of the nave, are the king, queen, and Prince Charles; in another, to the left of the royal family, sit a groupe of bishops, lords and ladies, &c.; and in a third gallery are seen the lord mayor, aldermen, and the city officers. The houses which had been raised against the walls are exhibited with smoking chimnies; and a label near them makes St. Paul's thus complain to the king of the degradation:

Viewe, O kinge, howe my wall creepers
Have made me work for chimney sweepers.

The eyes of the illustrious assemblage in the galleries are turned to St. Paul's cross, where the bishop, amidst a crowd of inferior citizens, is exhorting his hearers to arise and have mercy upon Zion. In another compartment of the painting, the artist has depicted the improvements on the cathedral which this appeal was expected to produce; the houses and their smoking chimnies removed; the walls renovated, &c.

In point of fact, however, this appeal had but little connexion with the ultimate repair of the cathedral. Large sums of money were collected under James's commission, and considerable quantities of building materials actually provided; but the reign of James elapsed without the work being commenced, while in the mean time, the subscriptions were squandered, and the materials applied to other purposes. The Duke of Buckingham is said to have *borrowed* some of the latter for the erection of the water gate at York-house. On the appointment of Laud to the see of London, this prelate exerted himself with great vigour and success in favour of the neglected building, and set on foot a new subscription, which produced in a short time £101,330 4s. 8d. The celebrated Inigo Jones was employed to superintend the repair; and in 1633 he commenced the work. In the course of nine years the whole of the exterior of the church was new cased with stone; a magnificent portico of the Corinthian order was erected at the western front; and a new roofing and lead covering were completed.

Preparations were then making for adding a spire to the tower, when the civil wars breaking out, suspended all further repairs, and led to the commonwealth, during which the building was an object of the most wanton spoliation. On the restoration of Charles the Second, the repairs were recommenced under the directions of Sir John Denham; but before any thing material was done, the Great Fire came and reduced it to a heap of ruins. Evelyn, in his account of the conflagration, thus pathetically describes the situation in which it left the cathedral.

“ I was infinitely concerned,” says he, “ to find that goodly church St. Pauls now a sad ruine, and that beautifull portico, (for structure comparable to any in Europe, as not long before repair’d by the king,) now rent in pieces, flakes of vast stone split asunder, and nothing remaining intire but the inscription in the architrave, shewing by whom it was built, which had not one letter of it defac’d. It was astonishing to see what immense stones the heat had in a manner calcin’d, so that all the ornaments, columns, freezes, and projectures of massie Portland stone, flew off, even to ye very rooffe, where a sheet of lead covering a great space was totally mealtd. It is also observable, that the lead over ye altar at ye east end was untouch’d, and among the divers monuments, the body of one bishop remain’d intire. Thus lay in ashes that most venerable church, one of the most ancient pieces of early piety in the Christian world.”

The body alluded to by Evelyn as having been found entire, was that of Bishop Braybrooke, which, although it had been interred two hundred and sixty

years, Dugdale says, was "so dried up, the flesh, sinews, and skin, cleaving fast to the bones, that being set upon the feet, it stood as still as a plank, the skin being tough like leather, and not at all inclined to putrefaction, which some attributed to the sanctity of the person offering much money."

Dryden, who has celebrated the year 1666 as the "*Annus Mirabilis*," in noticing the destruction of St. Paul's, has a fine allusion to its profanation during the commonwealth.

The daring flames peep'd in, and saw from far
The awful beauties of the sacred quire;
But since it was profan'd by civil war,
Heav'n thought it fit to have it purg'd by fire.

ST. PAUL'S CROSS.

When Christianity was first introduced into Britain, the missionaries, in order to change the worship without too precipitately offending the prejudices of the natives, marked the Druid stones with crosses. As an emblem of Christianity the cross afterwards became a distinct building, and though always retaining something of its first object, was devoted to various purposes. Crosses were placed in the market, that they might, by reminding those who frequented it of the foundation of their faith, inculcate upright conduct and fair dealing. In the highway the cross was a monitor to the traveller; and it was even hoped that the predatory robber, on seeing it, might sometimes be restrained from his purpose. As a land-mark the

cross was used, that no man for conscience sake should remove it, since Scripture hath denounced a curse on him that removeth his neighbour's landmark. In the street, crosses were used for various purposes; here sermons were preached, royal proclamations made, laws promulgated, and sometimes carried into execution. The corpse in conveyance to the church was often rested at the cross, that all the people attending might pray for the soul of the deceased. Mendicants stationed themselves at crosses, to beg alms for Christ's sake; and "wheresoever," says an old MS. quoted by Warton, "a cross standeth, there is a forgiveness of payne."

The first mention of crosses in church-yards is by the historian Ingulphus, who states, that when the Danes, in their fatal irruption into this country in 870, barbarously murdered the monks of Peterborough, Godrick, the venerable abbot, not only took care for their burial, but erected a stone cross in the church-yard, where they had sepulture, in order to remind passengers to pray for their souls, and for those of others there interred.

St. Paul's Cross stood in the midst of the church-yard, on the north-side towards the east-end. Of the period of its erection, we have no account; Stowe says, it was of "unknown antiquity." The first mention made of it is in 1259, when a folk-mote was assembled at Paul's cross, to hear the complaints that had been made to the king against the mayor and rulers of the city. (*See Common Council.*)

Michael de Northburgh, who was Bishop of London in the reign of Edward III., in his will, left 100 marks to be lent in small sums to laymen giving

sufficient pledge, and directed, that if at the end of the year, payment were not made of the sum borrowed, then, that "the preacher at Paul's cross" should, in his sermon, declare, that the pledge, within fourteen days, would be sold, if the borrower did not forthwith redeem it." In the 2nd of Richard II. we find Robert de Braybroke, bishop of London, speaking of preaching at Paul's cross as a usual practice. And in his letter to the clergy of his diocese, exhorting them to stir up the people to contribute towards its repair, he says, "Whereas, the high cross, standing in the greater church-yard of our cathedral, where the word of God had wont to be preached to the people, as the most public and eminent part thereof." An indulgence of forty days was promised to whoever contributed towards the repair of this cross, which had been much damaged by a tempest.

From the prints extant of Paul's cross, it appears to have consisted of a hexagonal pulpit of wood, raised upon a flight of stone steps, with a leaden canopy, surmounted by a large cross. In the picture, in the Society of Antiquaries, mentioned in the preceding article, it is represented as enclosed by a low brick wall, within which there are people taking notes of the sermon. The greater part of the audience sat or stood in the open air; but, there were probably, as on the occasion of King James's visit, covered galleries for the accommodation of more distinguished auditors, such as, the members of the royal family, the nobility, the lord mayor and aldermen. At the side of the church, there was a covered space called the shrouds, to which the preacher and congregation both resorted in inclement weather.

Bishop Latimer, in one of his discourses, preached in Lincolnshire, in 1552, makes an observation on this preaching in St. Paul's church-yard, in which we have no doubt there was a good deal of truth. We have, in recent times, had many undoubted proofs of infectious diseases having thus originated. "The citizens of Naim," says the worthy prelate, "had their burying place without the city, which no doubt is a laudable thing, and I do marvel, that London, being so great a city, hath not a burial place without, for no doubt it is an unwholesome thing to bury within the city, especially at such a time, when there be great sicknesses, and many die together. I think verily that many a man taketh his death in Paul's church-yard, and this I speak of experience; for I myself, when I have been there on some mornings, to hear the sermons, have felt such an ill-savoured and unwholesome savour, that I was the worse for it a great while after; and I think no less but it is the occasion of great sicknesse and disease."

Every encouragement was given to obtain good preachers at Paul's cross. Such as came from a distance, were ordered by the mayor and aldermen to be freely accommodated with clean and convenient lodgings, fire, candle, and all necessities, for five days.

A sort of inn was kept expressly for the purpose of their reception, which was called "The Shunamites' House." They received besides, forty-five shillings for each sermon. Latterly, however, these allowances were reduced to four days' board and lodging, in the Shunamites', and forty shillings for the sermon.

It was at St. Paul's Cross that Dr. Shaw, on the 19th of June, 1483, preached his memorable sermon

From the words of Solomon, that "bastard slips shall never take deep root;" and by endeavouring to prove the illegitimacy of the young princes, sought to pave the way of the Duke of Gloucester to that throne to which he afterwards ascended through blood. The worthless preacher, however, prostituted his sacred calling to no purpose. Stowe says, that the multitude "stood as they had been turned into stones, for wonder of this shameful sermon." "Having once ended," adds he, "the preacher got him home, and never after durst look out for shame, but kept him out of sight, like an owl; and when he once asked one who had been his old friend, what the people talked of him, albeit his own conscience well shewed him, that they talked no good; yet, when the other answered him, that there was in every man's mouth spoken of him much shame, it did so strike him to the heart, that within a few days after he withered and consumed away."

When the great reformer, Henry, quarrelled with the see of Rome, he issued an order in council, commanding, that from "Sunday to Sunday," such as should preach at Paul's cross, should teach and declare to the people, that neither the pope nor any of his predecessors were any thing more than simple bishops of Rome, and had no more authority within this realm than any other foreign bishop," and the bishop of London was ordered, at his peril, to suffer none other to preach there but "such as would preach and set forth the same."

On the accession of Mary to the throne, the preaching at St. Paul's cross took a different turn. A few days after, one Bourn, chaplain to the infamous Bishop Bonner, delivered a sermon here, so full

of papistical notions, that one of the auditors, in the warmth of his indignation, hurled a dagger at the preacher, which stuck in a side post of the pulpit; nor would he have escaped probably with his life, but for the interference of the two popular protestant ministers, Bradford and Rogers, who rescued him from the fury of the people. On the following Sunday, the queen sent a guard of two hundred halberdiers to protect Dr. Watson, another of her favourite preachers, in inculcating the same doctrines, and agreeably to her majesty's command there were also present, to assist in keeping the peace, "all the crafts of London in their best liveries, together with the lord mayor and aldermen." How long this military guard was kept up does not appear; but that there was long occasion for it, is evident from the recurrence of a similar act of violence in the following year. One Sunday, whilst Dr. Pendleton was preaching at the cross, a gun was secretly fired at him, the ball from which passed close by him and struck on the church wall. Proclamation was issued in consequence of this outrage, forbidding the carrying of weapons and all shooting with hand guns.

When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, popery was again preached down at Paul's cross, by a series of very able preachers, such as Horne, Jewel, Sandys, &c. Pennant says, the last sermon preached at this place was that which we have before mentioned as delivered before James I. but there is evidence of sermons having been preached there, at a later period, which were attended by Charles the First.

The station of St. Paul's cross was not confined merely to inculcating religious duties, but was employed for various other purposes, both ecclesiastical and po-

litical,—for the publishing of papal bulls, for giving force to oaths, for the declaration of a change in the succession to the throne, for anathematizing sinners, for penances and recantations.

It was here that, in 1262, King Henry III. caused the bull of Pope Urban IV. to be read, absolving him from his oath, in swearing to maintain the articles made in the parliament at Oxford, known by the name of the mad parliament. Here, in 1299, Ralph de Baldock pronounced all those who had searched or consented to the digging for treasure within the church of St. Martin le Grand, accursed; and here, in 1417, Lord Strange and Sir John Trussel were excommunicated for an affray in the church of St. Dunstan's in the East. It was here also, that in 1483, the unfortunate Jane Shore was put to the worst of shame, an open penance, "gazing," as the historian of Edward V. says, "before a crosse, on a Sondaye at procession, with a taper in her hande; in the which she went in countenance and pace so womanly, and albeit she was out of al her arraye, savyng her kyrtell onelye, yet went she so fayre and lovely, and namelye when the wondrying of the people cast a comelye rud in her cheeks, of the which she before had most mysse, that her great shame wonne her much praise."

In 1496, several Lollards did penance at Paul's cross "shryned" with faggots. In 1502, the marriage of James IV. of Scotland with Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. was proclaimed here. On Sunday, the 24th of February, 1538, Stowe relates, "the rood of Boxley in Kent, called the Rood of Grace, made with divers vices to moove the eyes and lips, was

shewed at Pawle's cross by the preacher, which was the Bishop of Rochester, and there was it broken and plucked to pieces." But, perhaps, the most whimsical ceremony that ever took place at Paul's cross was on the 8th of March, 1555, when, "while a doctor preached at the cross, a man did penance for transgressing Lent, holding two pigs, ready drest, whereof one was upon his head, having brought them to sell."

The cross was demolished in 1643, by an order of parliament, and was never after restored.

NEW ST. PAUL'S.

"I honour antiquity so much the more," says an author of the time of Charles I. "because it so much loved the church, and I can but admire the charity of former times, to build such famous temples, whereas these ages cannot find repaire to them; but then the world was all church, and now the church is all the world." Had the writer lived but a few years later, he would have found reason to speak very differently of the moderns, since it is much to be doubted, that in any country even when the Roman power was in its zenith, and the lives and fortunes of millions at its disposal, so many ecclesiastical structures were erected as in the age that immediately succeeded the great fire of London in 1666. One single architect, whom God seemed to have blessed with long life and extraordinary vigour of intellect, that he might raise temples to his glory, during a period of thirty years erected fifty churches, which exhibit all the merits and varieties of almost every style of architecture;

and in five years more, completed a cathedral of almost unequalled grandeur and magnificence.

It was peculiarly fortunate that a calamity, which, however dreadful in its effects, paved the way for a great and salutary improvement in the metropolis, occurred at a period when England possessed her greatest architect, Sir Christopher Wren, who was at this time surveyor general of his Majesty's works.

The subscriptions for building a new cathedral, which commenced soon after the fire, amounted in the course of ten years to 126,000*l.* a new duty was laid on coals for the same purpose, which produced 5,000*l.* a year, and King Charles I. contributed 1000*l.* annually. Wren was ordered to prepare designs for the inspection of the king, and fixing upon one of them, his majesty commanded a model of it in wood to be prepared on a large scale. Of this model, which is suffered to remain in a dilapidated state in an apartment in the cathedral, where it is exhibited, a living architect (Mr. Elmes, the biographer of Sir Christopher Wren) says, "it possesses an originality peculiarly striking; copied from no other building, it exhibits judgment and invention in every turn. Its series of cupolettas, round the grand central dome, is beautiful, and would have proved eminently effective in execution; and the variety of views from the different parts of the building, seen in various lights as the spectator approaches, recedes, or perambulates its varied scenes, afford a more numerous assemblage of various beautiful and picturesque combinations, than almost any other plan in existence."

Excellent as the plan was, it was rejected, on the ground, that it differed too much from the precon-

ceived notion of cathedral churches ; the secret appears to have been, that it was not adapted to the ceremonies of the Roman catholic church, which the Duke of York hoped to restore, and therefore he used his influence to get the plan rejected. It was with the same view, that the duke obtained the addition to the plan that was adopted, of the side oratories, which so much broke in upon the design, that the architect is said to have shed tears when he was compelled to admit them.

The commission for rebuilding the cathedral was issued under the great seal, dated November 12, 1673. Sir Christopher Wren being appointed architect, and one of the commissioners, shortly afterwards made arrangements for commencing his task. The business of taking down the ruins of the old structure was one of considerable labour and difficulty. To the middle tower, the ruins of which were two hundred feet high, a blast of eighteen pounds of gunpowder was applied, under the direction of the architect, and comparatively small as this force was, it raised the whole angle of the tower, with several adjoining arches ; visibly lifting the vast mass, which was not less than three thousand tons in weight, about nine inches, when, tumbling back again suddenly, it dropped into a heap of ruins, but with such a concussion, that the inhabitants in the neighbourhood took it for an earthquake. A less skilful engineer, on whom the continuation of the business devolved during a temporary absence of the architect, was not equally successful ; for, in attempting to blow up part of the building, a fragment of a large stone was thrown into a private house, where some women were sitting at

work, which made the commissioners order that no more powder should be used. Sir Christopher now resorted to that ancient engine of war, the battering ram; a beam of timber forty feet long, well secured with ferrules, and suspended from a triangle, was vibrated by thirty men for a whole day against a part of the wall without any apparent effect, but on the second day the whole was thrown down.

The first stone of the new cathedral was laid on the 21st of June, 1675, by the great architect himself, who lived to see his son, then but a few months old, thirty-five years afterwards, deposit the highest stone of the lantern on the cupola.

During the early progress of the work, an incident occurred, which, even in a less superstitious age, might have been considered as a favourable omen, without any charge of extraordinary credulity. Sir Christopher was marking out the dimensions of the great cupola, when he ordered one of the workmen to bring him a flat stone, to use as a station. A piece was brought: it was the fragment of a tombstone, on which but one word of the inscription was left—that word was *RESURGAM*. Some authors suppose this circumstance to have been the origin of the emblem sculptured over the south portico, by Cibber, namely a phoenix rising out of its fiery nest, with this word as an inscription.

During the whole time that the cathedral was building, Sir Christopher, in order to preserve the new temple from profanation, affixed orders on various parts of the building, prohibiting the workmen from swearing, on pain of dismissal.

In 1693, the walls of the new choir were finished,

and the scaffolding removed ; and on the 2nd of December, 1697, it was opened for divine service, on occasion of the thanksgiving for the peace of Ryswick. The morning prayer chapel was opened for divine service the 1st of February, 1699.

It is remarkable, that this mighty fabric was begun and finished by one architect, Sir Christopher Wren ; one principal mason, Mr. Strong ; and during one bishopric, that of Dr. Henry Compton, bishop of London.

The time occupied in its erection, though in truth marvellously short, compared with that devoted to other buildings similar in magnitude, was thought, at the period, to have been unnecessarily protracted. Nor was this the prejudice of the ignorant vulgar, merely. In the 9th of William and Mary, parliament passed an act " for completing and adorning the cathedral church, in which there was a clause for suspending a moiety of the salary, until the said church should be finished ; *thereby, the better to encourage him to finish the same with the utmost diligence and expedition.*" And what does the reader imagine was the salary, the suspension of the moiety of which, was to have this encouraging influence ? Only 200*l.* ! Who, but a man whose genius soared far above that of the times in which he lived, who looked forward to the admiration of future ages as his reward, could have brooked so unmerited an indignity ? The whole time occupied in this building did not exceed thirty-five years ; while St. Peter's at Rome, the only fabric of modern times which can be placed in competition with it, was not completed in less than one hundred and forty-five.

The total expense of the building was 736,752*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*

The dimensions of this cathedral, compared with that of St. Peter's, are, according to the Parentalia, as follows :

	St. Paul's.	St. Peter's.
Length, within.....	500	669ft.
Greatest breadth.....	223	442
Height.....	340	432

In the construction of the edifice, the architect was forced to observe the general shape of a cross, and yet it exhibits little or none of the awkwardness of that form of building. By means of an additional transept or arm he has given due breadth to the west end or principal front ; the east end terminates in a projecting semicircle ; and at the extremities of the principal transept, there are also semicircular projections for porticos, while the angles of the cross are occupied with square appendages, which serve as buttresses to a magnificent dome or cupola. The front of the building on the west presents a grand portico of the Corinthian and Composite orders, surmounted by a spacious pediment, with a lofty tower or steeple of great elegance and richness on each side. In the tympanum, the conversion of St. Paul has been well sculptured in basso relievo, by Bird ; on the apex is a colossal statue of St. Paul, and on either hand, at different distances along the summit of this front, are similar statues of St. Peter, St. James, and the four evangelists. The semicircular porticos at each end of the principal transept are of the Corinthian order, and are also crowned by statues of the apostles. The tympanum of that on the north side, exhibits a sculpture of the royal arms and regalia, supported by an-

gels ; and that of the other, the phoenix rising from the flames, as before mentioned. The side walls of the building present the appearance of a two storied structure ; there being two ranges of pilasters all round, one of the Corinthian, and the other of the Composite order ; the intervals between which, are occupied with windows. The dome or cupola, is the most striking feature of the whole edifice. A plain circular basement rises from the roof of the church to the height of twenty feet ; above that, there is a Corinthian colonnade of thirty-two columns ; and every fourth intercolumniation is filled with masonry, so dispersed, as to form an ornamental niche or recess, while, at the same time, the projecting buttresses of the cupola are thus concealed. " By a happy combination of profound skill and exquisite taste, a construction adapted to oppose, with insuperable solidity, the enormous pressure of the dome, the cone, and the lantern, is thus converted into a decoration of the most grand and beautiful character. The columns being of a large proportion, and placed at regular intervals, are crowned with a complete entablature, which, continuing without a single break, forms an entire circle, and thus connects all the parts into one grand and harmonious whole." The entablature of the peristyle supports a handsome gallery surrounded with a balustrade. Within this rises an attic story, with pilasters and windows, from the entablature of which springs the exterior dome. Round an aperture on the summit of the dome, there is another gallery, from the centre of which ascends an elegant lantern, surrounded with Corinthian columns, and surmounted by a ball and cross richly gilt.

The exterior of St. Paul's has been the subject of frequent criticism ; and, judged of according to the strict rules of art, it is probably not without its faults. The adoption of two orders of architecture in the body of the building ; the want of two towers or steeples at the east end, to correspond with those at the west ; the height of the pillars which form the peristyle of the dome, being little less than the lowest order, and larger than those immediately below them ; and the magnitude of the cupola, as compared with the rest of the structure, are all complained of as departures from acknowledged principles of harmony. It must be confessed, however, that these are nice discrepancies discoverable by the learned few only ; and that, with the great mass of ordinary observers, the appearance of the building excites emotions of unmingled admiration and wonder. When viewed, especially, from any of the heights around the metropolis, such as Hampstead, or Highgate, or Shooter's Hill, its dome has a very noble appearance ; though there, perhaps, it is rather to be regarded as a cupola to the vast metropolis itself, than to any single edifice. " Considered in this light," as Mr. E. Aikin remarks, " the coldest critic, the most rigid theorist, could not wish to subtract a particle from its rich exuberance." Nor are more solid reasons wanting in justification of the anomalies objected to. Sir Christopher Wren, it will be remembered, was compelled, against his own better taste, to follow the cathedral or cross fashion, in the formation of the structure ; and though an additional transept might be admitted, for the sake of giving breadth to the front, there was no possible mode by which two additional towers could have been intro-

duced. The adoption of the two orders of architecture was a matter not of choice but necessity. The quarries of the Isle of Portland, from which alone the stones for the building could be procured, could not furnish blocks of magnitude enough to enable the architect to raise his series of pillars all of one order; that is, to make the lowest order of the necessary elevation. "At St. Paul's," says the author of the *Parentalia*, "the surveyor was cautious not to exceed columns of four feet, which had been tried by Inigo Jones, in his portico; the quarries of the Isle of Portland would just afford for that proportion, but not readily; for the artificers were forced sometimes to stay some months for one necessary stone to be raised for that purpose, and the further the quarrymen pierced into the rock, the quarry produced less stones than near the sea." The irrelative size of the pillars, which form the peristyle of the dome, arose from the same cause. Had they been less, the peristyle would not have formed, as it does now, one of the most elegant features in the building. The fault, if there is any in the case, consists in the shortness of the inferior pillars; and that, as has been just observed, was one of necessity. As to the magnitude of the dome, the objection refers rather to the erections upon the dome itself; and the cause of these has been thus explained. "The world expected," says the *Parentalia*, "that the new work should not fall short (in elevation) of the old. He (Sir C. Wren) was therefore obliged to comply with the humour of the age, and to raise another structure over the first cupola; and this was a cone of brick, so built as to

support a stone lantern of an elegant figure, and ending in ornaments of copper, gilt."

After all, too, it admits of some doubt whether a more equal proportioning of the parts, according to the rules of art, would have improved the general effect of the building ; and it is by effect on the spectator, that the real merit of the arrangement which produces it, may best be judged. St. Peter's at Rome, for example, uniformly deceives an observer, appearing of smaller dimensions than it really is ; and the effect is allowed to be occasioned by the nicety observed, in making all the parts of such relative magnitude, as the rules of art have laid down. It is sensibly remarked, however, by Mr. Knight, that " if it be a merit to make it appear small, it certainly was extreme folly to incur such immense expense in building it large." The effect which St. Paul's has on a spectator is just the reverse. It strikes the eye at once, as being of vast magnitude ; and, from whatever situation we view it, whether close or at a distance, the idea of vastness is encreased. May not this effect then be owing to the very absence of that nicety in the proportions of the parts which lessens St. Peter's so much to our vision ? May not the irregular magnitude of the dome, and the irregular height of the colonnade beneath it, and the irregular mixture of different orders of architecture, have all contributed to the production of that harmonious whole, which is the object of our admiration ?

On *entering* the building, there is one discrepancy which strikes a stranger more forcibly than any that can be remarked in the exterior. Contrary to what he has been led to expect from the division of the walls

on the inside, into two stories, he finds no such corresponding division within. Although disappointed, however he is far from being displeased. The unexpected loftiness of the vaulting, and of the long range of columns and piers which burst on the sight, add still farther to those ideas of vastness and magnificence which the exterior has inspired. Sir Christopher chose the hemispherical manner of vaulting, as being "demonstrably much lighter" than diagonal cross vaults; and that demonstration we have here before us. "The whole vault of St. Paul's consists of twenty-four cupolas, cut off semicircular with segments to join to the great arches, one way, and which are cut across the other way with elliptical cylinders to let in the upper lights of the nave; but in the aisles, the lesser cupolas are both ways cut into semicircular sections, altogether making a graceful geometrical form, (distinguished by circular wreaths.)"—*Parentalia*.

The great dome over the central area is supported by eight stupendous piers, four of the arches formed by which open into the side aisles. The cathedral church of Ely is said to be the only other one in this country, in which the central area is thus pierced by the side aisles. The advantages of this mode of construction are, that it gives an air of superior lightness to the clustered columns, affords striking and picturesque views in every direction, and gives greater unity to the whole area of the building. The view upwards into the interior of the dome is extremely striking. It has been so constructed as to shew a spacious concave every way; and from the lantern at the top, the light is poured down with admirable effect over the whole, as well as through the great colonnade

that encircles its basement. The inside is divided into eight compartments, in which there are as many paintings of subjects from scripture, by Sir James Thornhill; but though originally executed with much animation and relief, the colours are now so faded, that they present to the eye of the observer below, only a confused mass of stains. Sir Christopher Wren wished to have beautified the inside with the more durable monument of mosaic work; but in this, as in other instances of correct foresight, he was unhappily overruled.

The choir is separated from the body of the church by handsome iron railings. Over the entrance to it is the organ gallery, and an organ in it supposed to be one of the finest in the kingdom. It was erected in 1694, by Bernard Schmydt, or Smith, for 2,000*l*. On the south side of the choir is a throne for the bishop; on the north another for the lord mayor; and besides these, there is on each side a long range of stalls. The whole are richly ornamented with carvings by Gibbons, who was the first, according to Walpole, who succeeded in giving to wood "the loose and airy lightness of flowers, and chained together the various productions of the elements, with a free disorder natural to each species." In the chancel, or semicircular recess at the east end, stands the communion table. What is called the altar piece, has four fluted pilasters painted in imitation of lapis lazuli, and is besides ornamented with a profusion of gilding; but its appearance is on the whole insignificant, when contrasted with the lofty windows above it, and the general magnitude of the choir. It is due, however, to the memory of Wren, to notice, that he had other designs

for this part of the building than those which have been realized. "The painting and gilding," says the Parentalia, "of the east end of the church, over the communion table, was intended only to serve the present occasion, till such time as materials could have been procured for a magnificent design of an altar, consisting of four pillars wreathed, of the richest Greek marbles, supporting a canopy hemispherical, with proper decorations of architecture and sculpture, for which the respective drawings and a model were prepared. Information and particular descriptions of certain blocks of marble were once sent to the Right Honourable Dr. Henry Compton, bishop of London, from a Levantine merchant in Holland, and communicated to the surveyor; but unluckily the colour and scantlings did not answer his purpose; so it rested in expectation of a fitter opportunity, else probably this curious and stately design had been finished at the same time with the main fabric." The pulpit and reading desk are both splendid objects; the former was designed by Mylne, and is richly carved and gilt; the latter consists entirely of brass gilt, and is very light and airy.

In the south end of the western transept, there is a chapel for morning prayers, and in the north the consistory; both are divided from the aisles by screens of insulated columns and ornamental carved work.

In the spaces between the great pilasters of the nave, Sir Christopher Wren has omitted inserting, as is usual, the architrave and frieze of the order, and this apparently for the purpose of raising the summits of the arches above the level of the architrave. We learn from the Parentalia, however, that he did not

consider this to be any deviation from the strict rules of art; he always insisted that he had the ancients on his side, and would refer to the Temple of Peace, to the great halls of the Baths, for proofs that in large structures of three aisles this is done, and for this reason—that in such wide inter-columniations, “the architrave is not supposed to be from one great column to another, but from the column to the wall of the aisle, so that the end of it only will appear upon the pillar of the inside of the great navis.” We agree at the same time with Mr. Aikin in thinking, that Sir Christopher Wren merely made use of these “few antique authorities,” as a “means of silencing the critics;” aware, no doubt, how much it is the way with such men to yield to great names what they will deny to common sense. The fact, as Mr. A. points out, is, that the architect has made the pilasters of the interior *higher* than the external columns; and “wishing to give the arches opening into the aisles as much elevation, and consequently lightness, as the design admitted, he chose to encroach on the entablature of the order; thus, by a slight violation of general rules, improving the total effect of his building.”

- Notwithstanding all Sir Christopher’s endeavours, however, to relieve the effect of the large architectural masses of the interior, by the elevation of the arches, as well as by the hemispherical style of vaulting: and though the various spandrils, soffits, &c. are in general richly carved, it must be confessed that the scene is not one to be long dwelt upon, without an encroaching sense of a great deficiency in ornament and variety. Those who blame Wren for this, ought to recol-

lect that it does not lie wholly with the builder of an edifice to make it such as it may be desirable to have it; and that architecture, as well as other arts, admits of being exhausted. Sir Christopher himself was not insensible to the need there was for additional decorations; but he had gone as far as his own art would allow him, consistently with those views of durability which so properly held the first place in his mind, and he therefore looked to the sister arts of painting and sculpture to supply what else was wanted. Unfortunately, the spirit of the times in which he lived had still too much of the puritanical leaven in it to permit him to draw the requisite aid from these sources; it could barely tolerate the elevation of the statues of the evangelists and apostles on the outside; and resisted the introduction of any thing similar into the interior as an absolute profanation. Wren was therefore obliged to leave it to some future age of more enlightened notions to supply what his own denied. That age has been, however, slow in arriving. In 1773, Sir Joshua Reynolds made an offer from himself, and a number of other painters of the first eminence, including West, Barry, Cipriani, Kauffman, Dance, &c. to paint various pictures, free of charge, to adorn the naked walls; but the offer, so honourable to them, was declined, on the ground, (which, considering the Protestant riots of a later period, cannot be considered as altogether fallacious), that popular clamours would be excited by the idea, that "popery and the saints were again to be admitted into our churches." At a later period, a proposition for the introduction of monumental sculptures was attended with more success; and considering that the

same objection scarcely applies to them, it is surprising that it should not have been made earlier. The first statue erected in St. Paul's was that of the great lexicographer and moralist, Dr. Johnson. Since then, about forty other monumental tributes to the illustrious dead of this country have been added, and being all of white marble, and generally well distributed, they unquestionably contribute greatly to the relief and embellishment of the architecture. The monuments have in themselves, however, little to boast of. Many finely sculptured forms you will find among them, but, generally speaking, they are masses of absurdity in point of invention and composition. Allegory, polytheism, and *classic* taste, as it is called, have combined their efforts to exclude every trace of real character and costume; and to make this English Christian temple the repository of as heathenish and outlandish an assemblage of images as can well be imagined. Dr. Johnson, whose suit of formal cut must be associated with every recollection of his person or portraits, is enveloped in a Roman toga, all except the right arm and breast, which are left *naked*, in order to indicate how authors in this climate are apt to neglect themselves, when wrapt in intense study. The brave Captain Faulkner, whose active intrepidity in lashing the bowsprit of the enemy's vessel to the capstern of his own frigate, cost him his life, appears in the *characteristic* attitude of a Roman gladiator, with a sword in one hand and shield in the other, tumbling into the arms of Neptune, while Victory is crowning him with the palm and wreath, and a blubberly dolphin puts forth its snout to testify (as it seemeth) the grief which his

fate occasioned to the race of mortals. Opposite to this, we behold the same goddess of Victory, as if she had been, since the last exercise of her vocation, taking a lesson of the moderns, presenting Captain Burgess, who fell in the battle off Camperdown, not with the palm or wreath, but with a *sword*, after the manner of our city corporations; and the hero who receives it would seem, by the state of nudity in which he is represented, to express that he is not without the need of one to fight for a coat to his back. The bas relief of a monument to Captain Westcott, presents to you a groupe of naked boys sporting round a giant. You ask, what allusion these figures can possibly have to the hero who fell "so gloriously in the victory obtained over the French fleet off Aboukir," and are told by your guide, that this giant is the god Nilus, and these boys the little Nili, or in plainer terms, that the one represents the river Nile, and the others the various streams that flow into it! In the same taste for inconceivable personification, we have figures male and female descriptive of deceit, oppression, discomfiture, disgrace, shame, and other equally abstract ideas. Nor do these creations of fancy always fill a subordinate and auxiliary part in the animated marble, for in some instances we find them occupying the most central and prominent places of the composition, while the figures of the real personages who are intended to be commemorated are thrown into the back ground, or, what is worse, represented in paltry medallions, of which their godships are the showfolks. In the monument, for example, "erected at the national expense, to those valiant and distinguished

officers, Captains Mosse and Rion," two colossal figures of Victory and Fame, seated on a plinth, are the chief objects that at first strike the eye, and it is only on approaching nearer that you discover that they are keeping guard over two small medallions, on which are sculptured likenesses of the gallant men whose heroism was meant to be recorded to future ages. One of the most honourable exceptions to this school of absurdity, is an equestrian monument to the memory of Sir Ralph Abercromby, by Westmacott. The general is represented as mortally wounded, yet with placid dignity of countenance, dropping from his horse into the arms of one of his brave Highlanders; and below the fore feet of the horse, which is springing forward in a very spirited attitude, is the body of a fallen foe. The figures are dressed after the fashion of the times in which they lived, and neither god nor goddess intermingles in the group. It is a passage of real history, simply and expressively told. "No false allegory is spread before the eye, to amuse the fancy at the expense of the understanding, but every thing is in place and in nature; nor are we compelled to arrest the full flow of sensibility and sentiment, by stopping to inquire into the attributes of imaginary beings," who, suggesting nothing of themselves, are in fact representatives of nothing, either in "the heavens above, the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth." The monuments recently erected to Lords Nelson and Howe, by Flaxman, and to Generals Picton and Houghton, by Chantrey, are also very favourable examples of an increasing purity of taste in this delightful branch of art.

It is due, at the same time, to the artists on whose

works we have been animadverting, to observe, that there is but too much reason to think that they have not always been allowed the free exercise of their own judgments, but have been often obliged to embody the gross conceptions of ignorant committees of superintendence and direction. When the dean and chapter first came to the resolution of admitting monuments into the cathedral, they resolved that no monument should be erected without the design being first approved of by a committee of the Royal Academicians ; but it is asserted, that " from the influence of some unexplained *imperium in imperio*, the ultimate decision was not intended to be given to the committee." A vindicator of Chantrey from his share in the allegorical mania, says, that the design in which it occurs was made entirely in deference to the powers who sit in judgment on these occasions, and under the certain conviction, that without submission to the prevailing taste his model would have been thrown aside, as he had before repeatedly experienced.⁴ (*Britton and Pugin's Illustration of the Public Buildings of London.*)

But few of the persons to whom monuments are erected in the cathedral, have been really buried here. Among the number, the first who claims our notice is the great architect of the building, Sir Christopher Wren. Descending to the vaults by a broad flight of steps, you see beneath the south east window, inscribed on a low tomb, the following simple epitaph ; " Here lies Sir Christopher Wren, Knight, builder of this Cathedral Church of St. Paul, who died in the year of our Lord MDCCXXIII., and of his age XCI." On the wall above, there is an additional in-

scription in Latin, with which the public are more familiar, and which may be thus translated.

"Beneath lies Christopher Wren, the builder of this church, and of this city, who lived upwards of ninety years, not for himself, but for the public good.

"Reader, would'st thou search out his monument? Look around."

"He died 25th February, 1723, aged 91."

Admired as this inscription has been, yet we can say from experience, that the direction to "look around," when the reader is in the midst of a dark gloomy vault, has a very contrary effect to that intended.

At the suggestion of the late Mr. Mylne, the Architect, it has been repeated on a tablet in front of the organ gallery in the choir; yet even there the effect is incomplete. Considering that Wren was in truth the builder, both "of this church and this city," the reader should be enabled, to "look around" on *both*, to behold "his monument."

In these vaults also, repose the mortal remains of that Prince of Enterprize, the Immortal Nelson, and of his friend and companion in victory, Lord Collingwood, both of which were deposited here with all those funeral honours, which a sorrowing country could bestow. Here too lie interred those eminent masters Reynolds, Barry, and Opie, in contiguous graves; the eloquent and sagacious Loughborough; the learned and pious Dr. Newton, Bishop of Bristol; Dr. Boyce, the organist and composer; the eccentric disciple of Animal Magnetism, Mainandot; and a few others of inferior note.

After examining all that is to be seen in the lower part of the cathedral, the visitor has still to make the

ascent to the summit, to examine the interior of the vast dome, and to enjoy the magnificent views, which the outside galleries furnish of this vast metropolis, before his curiosity can be fully gratified. You ascend by a spacious circular staircase, to a gallery which encircles the lower part of the interior of the dome, and is called the *Whispering Gallery*, from the circumstance, that the lowest whisper breathed against the wall in any part of this vast circle, may be accurately distinguished by an attentive ear on the very opposite side. The paintings within the dome, you find, even on this nearer inspection, scarcely distinguishable. All the lower parts have perished utterly, and the rest are in a state of rapid obliteration. The subjects were all chosen from the life of St. Paul, as recorded in the scriptures, from his Miraculous Conversion near Damascus, to his Shipwreck at Melita. Branching off from the circular staircase at this place, there are passages which lead to other galleries and chambers over the side aisles. One conducts you to the *Library* of the chapter, which is immediately over the consistory. The floor of this apartment is a great curiosity, being entirely constructed of small pieces of oak, without either nail or peg, and disposed into various geometrical figures, with the utmost nicety. Above the chimney, there is a good half length portrait of the protestant bishop, Dr. Compton, who bequeathed the whole of his books to the library, which is not however of much value as a collection. Over the morning prayer chapel, at the opposite end of the transept, is a room called the *Trophy Room*, from being hung round with various shields and banners used at the ceremony of Lord Nelson's funeral. In

this room are kept the rejected model, according to which Sir Christopher Wren first proposed to erect this cathedral, and also the model of the altar piece, which was left unexecuted. From the whispering gallery, the visitor ascends to the stone gallery, which surrounds the exterior dome above the colonnade; and from this elevation, when the atmosphere is clear, the view around is magnificent. As the staircase above this becomes very steep, narrow, and dark, not many visitors can prevail on themselves to go higher; and yet there is much to repay both the trouble and apprehension attending the ascent. In the crown of the dome there is a circular opening, from which the superstructure of the cone and lantern, and cross, rise nearly an hundred feet higher. Around the exterior base of the cone, there is a railed gallery, called *the golden gallery*, from which you have a more extended, and on account of the encreased dimunition of individual objects, a more curious view of the busy world beneath. If your head is steady enough, to master the feeling of dizziness which overpowers most people at so great an elevation, and makes them feel that the only pleasure in going up is the pleasure of coming down again, you may even ascend by ladders into the lantern itself, and from the *Bull's Eye Chamber*, extend your survey far into the country on every side. Here did a most ingenious and persevering artist, Mr. Thomas Hornor, pass the whole summer of 1821, in taking a panoramic view of this vast metropolis and its environs. When he had almost completed it, preparations were commenced for taking down the ball and cross, in order to be re-gilt. The

scaffolding erected for this purpose suggested to Mr. Hornor the possibility of taking his view from a still higher point of elevation, and having obtained the requisite permission, he proceeded, with a zeal and resolution rarely exemplified, to erect an observatory on a platform considerably higher than the highest part of the cross, more than three hundred and fifty feet aloft in the air. From this spot, he completed a second series of views, which include a portion of almost every public building and dwelling house in the metropolis and its vicinity, and the woods, rivers, villages, mansions, &c. for many miles round—in short, every object which was within reach of the artist's vision. The toil which Mr. Hornor had daily to undergo in ascending to this aerial habitation, and the danger inseparable from it, may be easily conceived, and it is to be hoped will not go unrewarded, when the result of his labours comes before the public. Of his feelings during this extraordinary task, and the perils attending it, he thus speaks in a Prospectus, which he has published.

“ On entering the cathedral at three in the morning, the stillness which then prevailed in the streets of this populous city, contrasted with the mid-day bustle, was only surpassed by the more solemn and sepulchral stillness of the cathedral itself. But not less impressive was the developement at that early hour, of the immense scene from its lofty summit, whence was frequently beheld the ‘ Forest of London,’ without any indication of animated existence. It was interesting to mark the gradual symptoms of returning life, until the rising sun vivified the whole into activity, bustle, and business. On one occasion, the night was

passed in the observatory, for the purpose of meeting the first glimpse of day ; but the cold was so intense, as to preclude any wish to repeat the experiment.

“ The weather was frequently so boisterous during the stormy summer of 1821, as to frustrate the most judicious contrivances for security. Indeed, scarcely a day passed without derangement of some part of the scaffolding, or machinery connected with it, and so strong became the sense of danger arising from these repeated casualties, that, notwithstanding the powerful inducement of increased remuneration, it was difficult, on these emergencies, to obtain the services of efficient workmen. This will not appear surprising, when it is known that during the high winds it was impossible for a person to stand on the scaffolding without clinging for support to the frame-work ; the creaking and whistling of the timbers at such times, resembled those of a ship labouring in a storm, and the situation of the artist was not unlike a mariner at the mast-head. During a squall, more than usually severe, a great part of the circular frame-work of heavy planks erected above the gallery, for the prevention of accidents, was carried over the house-tops to a considerable distance. At this moment a similar fate had nearly befallen the observatory, which was torn from its fastenings, turned partly over the edge of the platform, and its various contents thrown into utter confusion. The fury of the wind rendered the door impassable ; and after a short interval of suspense, an outlet was obtained by forcing a passage on the opposite side. It became necessary to provide against similar misfortunes, by securing the observatory to a cross beam, and constructing a rope

fence. An accident somewhat more perilous, befel Mr. Gwynne, when occupied in measuring the top of the dome for a section of the cathedral. While intent on his work, his foot slipped, and he slid down the convex surface of the dome, until his descent was fortunately obstructed by a small projecting piece of the lead. He thus remained, until released from the danger which threatened him by one of his assistants, who luckily discovered his awful situation." The sketches of Mr. Hornor fill no less than two hundred and eighty sheets of drawing paper, and extend over a surface of 1680 square feet.

When the visitor has reached the bull's eye chamber, it will not cost him much additional exertion of courage to mount into the ball which crowns the lantern. It is six feet two inches in diameter, and capacious enough to contain eight persons with ease. The weight of it is stated to be 5600 lbs. The cross, which is solid, weighs 3360 lbs.

In descending from this lofty perambulation, the visitor, when he reaches the whispering gallery, may return to the lower part of the church by a different staircase from that by which he ascended, called the geometrical staircase. It is, however, seldom used, and is chiefly resorted to by the curious in architectural matters, on account of the singularity and skilfulness of its construction. The stairs go round the concave in a spiral direction; and the base is a circle inlaid with black and white marble, in the form of a star.

The towers or steeples, which have been before described, as forming part of the western front, serve, one as the belfry, and the other as the clock tower.

The great bell of St. Paul's, which is of some celebrity, never being tolled except at the deaths and funerals of members of the royal family, or of the bishops and lord mayors of London, when the sound of it is heard at a great distance, is stated to weigh four tons and a quarter. It has these words inscribed on it, "Richard Phelps made me, 1716."

In the area before the west front of the cathedral, there is a statue of Queen Anne, by Bird, on a sculptured pedestal, representing Britannia, Hibernia, America and France.

"With grace divine, great Anna's seen to rise,
An awful form, that glads a nation's eyes;
Beneath her feet, four mighty realms appear,
And with due reverence, pay their homage there.
Britain and Ireland seem to own her grace,
And ev'n wild India wears a smiling face;
*But France alone, with downcast eyes is seen,
The sad attendant of so good a queen.*"

Garth.

The introduction of France, as one of her majesty's subject domains, is, it must be confessed, not in the happiest taste. The art with which the poet turns it into the means of an attack on the closing years of Queen Anne's reign, is in the severest style of irony.

"Ungrateful country! to forget so soon,
All that great Anna, for thy sake, has done,
For thee, she sheath'd the terrors of her sword;
For thee, she broke her gen'ral and her word;
For thee, her mind in doubtful terms she told,
And learn'd to speak like oracles of old:
For thee, for thee alone—What could she more?"

She lost the honour she had gain'd before ;
 Lost all the trophies which her arms had won,
 (Such Cæsar never knew, nor Philip's son.)
 Resign'd the glories of a ten years' reign,
 And such as none but Marlborough's arms could
 gain.
 For thee, in annals, she's content to shine,
 Like other monarchs of the Stuart line."

Neither the statue nor the pedestal does much credit to the artist. The figures have suffered much from time, but they are now undergoing a general repair.

CHURCH OF SAINT FAITH.

In early times, there stood, near the east end of St. Paul's cathedral, a separate church belonging to Saint Faith's parish ; but it was taken down on the rebuilding of the cathedral, after the fire of 1086, in order to give greater room for the new fabric, and in place of it, the parishioners of St. Faith's had assigned to them, that part of the crypt or vaults of St. Paul's, situated immediately under the choir, which was formed into a distinct place of worship, and called *Ecclesia Sanctæ Fidei in Cryptis*. It became hence a common saying

"This church needs no repair at all,
 For Faith's defended by St. Paul.

In the reign of Edward VI. the parishioners of St. Faith's removed into another place of worship in the crypt, which had then been suppressed, called Jesus chapel ; and the church of St. Faith was occupied by

the Stationers' company, as a repository for their goods. (See *Stationers*). After the great fire of London, the parish of St. Faith was united to that of St. Augustine, and on the rebuilding of the cathedral, there was allotted to the parishioners of St. Faith, a portion of the new crypt, for the purpose of interments, as also a large part of the outer burial ground.

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN.

Whatever the city of London may owe to others, it is certainly chiefly indebted to one individual for its architectural grandeur; and although great events often call forth great talents, yet there never perhaps was an instance in which so large a task of the kind devolved on one person, and was so nobly fulfilled, as the rebuilding of London after the fire of 1666, by Sir Christopher Wren. What the architect would have done, had he been permitted the full exercise of his genius, it is difficult to imagine; but we have already (Part I. p. 120) expressed our regret, that this great man, as well as a subsequent architect, were not allowed to carry into effect the noble designs they had conceived.

It has been remarked by a contemporary biographer of Sir Christopher Wren, (Mr. Elmes), that he "experienced the ingratitude of contemporaries, and the apathy of successors, in a more extraordinary degree than any other man of equal talents, or equal celebrity." This has certainly been too much the case; he did meet with ingratitude during his life, and comparative neglect after his death; but what

can be wanting to render the name of Wren immortal while the cathedral of St. Paul's, the Monument, the hospitals at Greenwich, and Chelsea, or, while one of the fifty Parochial churches, which he built in London, remains? Wherever the inquiring traveller sets his foot in this metropolis, the shade of Wren seems to say, in the modest inscription over his remains in St. Paul's, "*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*"

The chances of birth and circumstances are often of much less importance than the world attaches to them: the brightest geniuses in every department of art or science have been little indebted to them. Neither Shakspeare, nor Milton, nor Newton, derived any consequence from the antiquity or the rank of their families,—they were the architects of their own fame, and it is imperishable.

Sir Christopher Wren, though possessing some of the advantages of birth, was born in an obscure village, where his particular genius could scarcely be excited, and hence, his predilection for architecture may almost be considered as intuitive. He was the son of Dr. Christopher Wren, afterwards dean of Windsor, and was born at Knoyle in Wiltshire, on the 20th of October, 1632. Aubrey speaks of him early as a "youth of prodigious inventive wit;" and at the early age of thirteen we find him the inventor of an astronomical instrument, which he dedicates in good Latin to his father. He gave many other early indications of genius; at the age of fifteen, he had a patent for seventeen years, for a diplographic instrument for writing with two pens. At the age of eighteen, young Wren was B. A. of Wadham College,

and a year after, he became M. A. It was at this period, that Evelyn speaks of him as a "miracle of a youth," and a "rare and early prodigy of universal science." When in his twenty-fifth year, he was appointed professor of geometry at Gresham College, at a time when the honour of such an appointment was by no means inconsiderable.

As there was no school for architects at this time, Wren's studies were rather accidental than otherwise; general, however, as they were, he was allowed to possess no ordinary knowledge of the subject of architecture; and hence was appointed surveyor-general in 1661. He remained two years unemployed, when he was offered an engagement to survey and direct the fortifications at Tangier, but this he refused. His first work was the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, and it gained him much praise.

Before Wren undertook any of those important works, on which his fame more immediately rests, he paid a visit to Paris, in order to investigate the works of art erected under the patronage of Louis XIV. Cardinal Mazarine, and the minister Colbert. Here he was introduced to all the men of genius, and had the most ample opportunity of pursuing his inquiries, relative to the progress of science and the arts. The Louvre was at this time building; and it was to be expected, that Wren would see the disparity between the plan furnished by Bernini, and that preferred by the king, from Perrault. So active was he during his stay in Paris, that he writes to a friend: "I shall bring you almost all France on paper;" and of Bernini's plan, he emphatically says, "Bernini's

design of the Louvre I would have given my skin for."

On his return to England, Wren was selected as the architect and one of the commissioners for examining the old cathedral of St. Paul's, when he proposed a plan for repairing it; but ere this could be accomplished, the great fire of London created for him a more extensive field for the display of his talents. The rebuilding of such portion of the metropolis as had become a prey to the flames, was an affair of greater magnitude than the foundation of any city in the world. It was not only desirable that the new city should surpass in convenience its predecessor, but, that it should be worthy of the architecture of the period—that it should be constructed so as to prevent a recurrence of the dreadful conflagration which had destroyed the old city; and not foster a pestilence which had but the year before swept away 100,000 citizens.

While the embers of the fire were still smoking, Wren commenced a plan for building the new city; and made a model of it, which Mr. Oldenburg, the Secretary to the Royal Society, says, "does so well provide for security, convenience, and beauty, that I can see nothing wanting as to these three great main articles." Unfortunately, the plan proposed by Dr. Wren was not adopted; but such was the confidence in his talents, that, although he had given no proof of his architectural genius, but in the erection of the Sheldonian Theatre, (not then finished,) and had rather been a seeker after new discoveries, than a practical artist, he was selected to raise all the principal struc-

tures of the new city, and was appointed principal architect for rebuilding the whole city. The importance of such weighty objects did not, however, prevent him from pursuing his philosophical studies, and he still continued one of the most active members of the Royal Society, which for many years had been enriched by the memoirs he supplied.

As commerce was always an object of paramount importance in the metropolis, the erection of a new Custom House first occupied the attention of the architect. It is said to have been a stately building of brick and Portland stone, but was burnt down in the year 1718. The Royal Exchange, rebuilt after a design and superintended by Wren, was finished in 1669.

It was at first intended to repair St. Paul's cathedral ; but this being found impracticable, Wren was employed to rebuild it, not, however, after the plan he first presented and preferred ; nor, in the execution of the second and adopted model, was he permitted to exercise his own discretion. Spence, in his *Anecdotes*, relates, that the side oratories were added to the original design, by order of the Duke of York, who wished to have them ready for the popish service. This so encumbered the building and broke in upon the beauty of the design, that Wren, with tears, begged they might not be forced upon him ; but the bigot prince was obstinate, and Wren was obliged to comply.

In 1671, Wren commenced that noble doric fluted column the Monument, which he finished in six years. Contemporary with the building of the Monument was the erection of that master-piece of composition, both in science and elegance, the spire of St. Mary-

le-Bow, Cheapside. Temple Bar was also built by Wren, about the same time, from one of his own designs. His life now became one of excessive activity, being at once occupied with churches for nearly all the parishes in London, the cathedral of St. Paul's, the Guildhall, the Halls of several Companies, and the repairs of the cathedrals of Salisbury and Chichester, and Westminster abbey. His labours are thus modestly recorded by the great architect himself, in his MSS. "Ab annos 1670, ad annos 1711. Quinquaginta et tres ecclesias, parochiales Londini, cum tholis, turribus, pyramidibus, et ornamentis erexit."

Of these churches, the one most esteemed is that of St. Stephen's, Walbrook. It was a church in Italy, built after this model, that Lord Burlington so much admired, when he was told that he had left the original in his own country. His lordship did penance for his ignorance, by hastening home and visiting the beautiful structure even before he went to his family or his friends. It is in the interior of this church, which is light and elegant, that its principal merit lies. "On entering from the street," says Mr. Elmes, the biographer of Sir Christopher Wren, "through a vestibule of dubious obscurity, on opening the handsome folding wainscot doors a halo of dazzling light flashes at once upon the eye; and a lovely band of Corinthian columns, of beauteous proportions, appear in magic mazes before you. The cupola and supporting arches expand their airy shapes like gossamer, and the sweetly proportioned and embellished architrave cornice of original lightness and application completes the charm. On a second look, the columns

slide into complete order, like a band of young and elegant dancers at the close of a quadrille." The churches of St. Bride's and St. James's have also been much praised; the first, on account of its beautiful tower and spire; the latter, for its convenient and economical construction.

Independently of St. Paul's cathedral, the churches and other structures already noticed, built by Sir Christopher Wren, he erected Chelsea college, Greenwich hospital, the college of physicians, and several other public works in London, which attest his genius and industry, during a life of more than ordinary duration.

Although Sir Christopher Wren received the honour of knighthood in 1673, and successively represented Plympton and Windsor, in parliament, yet these were but barren honours, and he had much cause to complain of royal neglect and public ingratitude.

When far advanced in years he retired to his house at Hampton Court, where he passed the last five years of his life, occasionally visiting London, to inspect the repairs of Westminster abbey, or to view St. Paul's, which Horace Walpole says, "left such an impression of content on the mind of the good old man, that being carried to see it once a year, it seemed to recal a memory that was almost deadened to every other use." At length the great architect, full in years, and rich—immeasurably rich in fame, died calmly and tranquilly, on the 25th of February, 1723.

CLERICAL REVENUES.

The clergy of London had originally no claim, according to the common law, to tithes from their parishioners; tithes being only due for such things as yield an increase, of which nature houses are not; yet from the beginning they had a competent provision made for them, in the shape of oblations or offerings, of proportional amount with the rents of the houses. Occupiers at ten shillings of rent, paid to the minister of their parish one farthing; at twenty shillings, one halfpenny; and at forty shillings, one penny, on every Sunday or apostle's day, the vigil of which was a fast. Disputes, however, arose at different times, between the ministers and their parishioners, as to the absolute right of exacting these consuetudinal dues; and Roger Niger, who was bishop from 1229 to 1241, was therefore induced to make a declaratory ordinance, by which they were specially recognized, and ordered to be paid in all time to come. The utmost amount of these oblations per annum was two shillings and sixpence in the pound. For a considerable period the clergy of London remained satisfied with the revenue they produced; but at length, in the 13th of Richard the Second, Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, favoured them with an exposition of the ordinance or constitution, as it was called, of Bishop Niger, according to which, not only twenty-two new vigils of saints were obtruded on the citizens, and the annual oblations thus raised to about three shillings and sixpence in the pound, but an additional farthing was appointed

to be raised for every ten shillings of rent above forty shillings yearly. The citizens positively refused to acknowledge the correctness of this exposition, even though threatened to be cursed for their disobedience, with bell, book, and candle. The authority of the head of the church was then called in to enforce it; and bulls of confirmation were obtained, both from Pope Innocent and Pope Nicolas. To the fulminations of the Vatican the sturdy citizens replied by a resolution in common council, (32 Henry VI.); and with a view to make it the better understood at Rome, they prided themselves in knowing enough of its classic language to be able to protest, that the Exposition of the Archbishop Arundel was *destructorius* rather than *declaratorius*, and had been obtained *surreptive et abruptive*, without the citizens being summoned to ascertain what objections they might have to it, and wholly without any assent on their part. The court of Rome, however, would not recall its sanction, and the clergy obtained the aid of the courts of law to enforce their demands. One Robert Wright, of the parish of St. Edmund, Lombard-street, after sentence had been twice given against him in inferior courts, for payment of oblations, according to Arundel's exposition, was at the trouble to appeal to the pope; but his holiness confirmed the sentence, and condemned Wright to pay the whole costs of the appeal. A compromise was at length entered into, according to which the citizens were to pay at the rate of three shillings and threepence in the pound. Not a great many years, however, elapsed, before the clergy and the parishioners were again at variance on the subject; and in the 37th of Henry the Eighth

it was agreed to make a general reference of the claims of the former to the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the lord president of the council, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, the lord high admiral, the chief justices of the courts of King's-bench, and the chief baron of the Exchequer. An act of the legislature was in the meanwhile passed, (c. 12. 37 Hen. VIII.) by which it was enacted, that the award to be pronounced by these arbitrators should, when enrolled in Chancery, "stand, remain, and be, as an act of parliament;" and should "bind as well all citizens and inhabitants of the said city and liberties for the time being, as the said pastors, vicars, curates, and their successors for ever." An award was accordingly pronounced, on the 24th February, 1545-6, by which it was decreed, that "the citizens and inhabitants of the city of London and the liberties of the same, shall yearly, for ever, without fraud or coveyne, pay their tithes to the parsons, vicars, and curates of the said city, and their successors, for the time being, after the rate hereafter following, that is, to wit; of every ten shillings rent by yeare of all and every house and houses, shops, warehouses, cellars and stables, sixteen pence halfpenny; and of every twenty shillings rent by year of all and every such house and houses, shops, &c. two shillings and ninepence; and so above the rent of twenty shillings by year, ascending from ten shillings to ten shillings, according to the rate aforesaid;" and that besides, the "wife, children, servants or others," of the family of the persons paying ten shillings rent or above, shall, "on taking their rights of the church at Easter, pay twopence." One im-

portant provision was, however, added, namely, that "where a less sum than after the rate of sixteen pence halfpenny in the ten shilling rent, or less sum than two shillings and ninepence in the twenty shillings rent, hath been accustomed to be paid for tithes, that then in such places the said citizens and inhabitants shall pay but only after such rate as hath been accustomed." It is necessary to observe here, that there is no proof that this award, though most certainly pronounced, and often judicially acted upon, was actually enrolled in Chancery, as required by the statute. In the earliest printed copies of the statutes of that period it is not to be found; neither is it attached to the act of the 37th of Henry VIII. as enrolled in Chancery; nor to the original act preserved at the Parliament Office. In a Register Book of the Bishops of London, preserved in St. Paul's Cathedral, (fol. 89,) the award is inserted immediately after the act of parliament; and there is the following marginal note connecting it with the act. "*Decretū interpōitū intuitū actus predicti.*" It was first printed in Rastall's Alphabetical Collection of Statutes, published in 1579; and being afterwards inserted in Pulton's Collection of Statutes, has been continued in all subsequent editions. Still, however, the original instrument itself is wanting; and what is perhaps of equal importance in a legal point of view, there is no evidence of its having been enrolled in Chancery, as was required by the statute of the 37th of Henry VIII. in order to give it the force of law. It is further certain, that in point of fact this award was not carried generally into effect at the time it was pronounced; and that, on the contrary, the clergy

of London, were for a long time afterwards worse remunerated than they were before. The parishioners of St. Bride's paid only *threepence* in the pound, instead of two and ninepence.

After the fire of London, and the new parochial division of the city which then took place, an act of parliament was passed (22 and 23 Charles II. c. 15,) which fixed the sums which all those parishes, "whose churches had been demolished or in part consumed," should annually pay in lieu of tithes to their respective parsons, vicars, and curates, and these sums were so moderate, that none exceeded 200*l.*, and some were as low as 100*l.* It has been decided by the courts, however, that this act does not extend to impropriators and their rights; but was solely intended for the maintenance of the ministers, fulfilling the duties of their different parishes; and one strong proof of this is, that by a clause in the act it is provided, that every impropriator "shall pay and allow what really and bona fide they have used, and ought to pay and satisfy" to the incumbent of his parish at any time before the fire, and that the same shall be esteemed and computed as part of the maintenance provided for such incumbent by the act. The same interpretation of the act has been given in a subsequent statute, passed in 1804, for the augmentation of the stipends of the London clergy, in which it is more explicitly declared, that "the impropriators shall continue to allow and pay to the respective incumbents of the same parishes, what they have been accustomed to allow and pay," &c. and that the said sums shall be paid "*in part*" of the annual stipends. The incomes of the London clergy, as thus augmented, vary

from 200*l.* to 333*l.*, and this is "over and above glebes and perquisites, gifts and bequests."

Very recently serious disputes have arisen, and are still pending respecting the amount of tithes in London; but they have occurred chiefly in those parishes, where impropriations exist, such as St. Botolph's, St. Bride's, &c. They turn entirely on a point of civil right, and have now at least no relation to the clerical services, in consideration of which the amount of the tythe was anciently fixed. The courts have in a great many cases decided that the act of the 37th of Henry VIII. gives a legal claim to tithes, at the rate of 2*s.* 9*d.* in the pound of rent, wherever a custom of paying at an inferior rate could not be clearly established; and individuals relying fully on such being the law of the land, have paid large sums for assignments to those tithes which are appropriated. The Rev. Mr. Kynaston, for example, who is impropriator of the tithes of the parish of St. Botolph, acquired this title by inheritance from his ancestors, by one of whom it was purchased for about 12,000*l.*; and if by a late decision in a suit at his instance against the East India Company, he established an addition to his income of 962*l.* 10*s.*, he only gained one of these accessions of wealth, which proprietors of vested rights are entitled to expect from the course of national prosperity.

A new objection has, however, been started on the ground of the award referred to in the act of Henry VIII. not having been enrolled in Chancery, as was required, in order to give it the effect of law; and of the validity of this the courts have yet to decide. Should it be held to be a good defence, against an ac-

tion on that statute, it will still be a matter of doubt whether any thing will be ultimately gained by the decision. It was neither the act of parliament, nor the award which established the right to the tithes, or oblations in lieu of them, for that right is founded on an immemorial usage; they merely regulated the amount of the rate, and fixed it too at a less sum than had been previously enacted. The impropiator may be disabled from insisting on two shillings and ninepence in the pound; but he will still be entitled to draw at some other rate, and whether that rate shall be more or less, must depend on the custom proved in each individual case.

The statute of Henry VIII. as hitherto enforced, has been held to apply to all houses, except such as come within a special exception, which the statute itself makes in favour "of the houses of great men or noblemen, or noblewomen kept in their own hands," and the "Halls of crafts or companies, so long as they be kept unlet." The dean of St. Paul's endeavoured to bring the Deanery House within the meaning of this clause; but after a long argument before the court of exchequer, it was solemnly decided that the dean was not in the sense of the statute, *a great man*. The maxim *ecclesia decimas non solvit ecclesiæ* was also pleaded; but it was held not to apply to any case but that of the rector or vicar, meaning only that the same *ecclesia* shall not pay tithes to itself.

THE GRESHAM LECTURES.

A more laudable estimation of property there could scarcely have been, than that by which the revenue

of the Royal Exchange was appropriated to the maintenance of a college for the cultivation of learning. It was linking commerce with knowledge, at all times its ablest and most honorable ally. How much then is it to be lamented, that of this part of Sir Thomas Gresham's generous scheme, we can now only speak as of a noble purpose neglected and forgotten. Gresham college in Broad-street no longer exists ; and the spot where it stood is occupied by an Excise Office. Professors there still are on this foundation, of divinity, astronomy, music, geometry, civil law, physick, and rhetoric, who are said to read lectures during term time, in a room in the Exchange buildings, to all who chuse to attend them ; and they receive 100*l.* each for their trouble. But one seldom hears any thing else about them : you meet with nobody who can tell you how they perform their duties, or whether, indeed, they perform them at all ; you may at times stumble on a Gresham professor, but on a Gresham scholar, never. The lectureships, in fact, have dwindled into mere sinecures, and are of use to nobody but those who draw the salaries.

Yet they were not always so. Among the Gresham professors, there have been men of high rank in the lists of fame. Sir Christopher Wren, Dr. Isaac Barrow, Sir William Petty ; Briggs, and Hooke, the mathematicians ; Goddard and Woodward, the physicians ; Dr. John Bull, the reputed author of " God save the King," and " Non nobis Domine ;" Gunter, the inventor of the celebrated scale ; the witty Archbishop, Mountain ; Greaves, the traveller ; and Henry Dakins, one of the translators of the Bible, were all lecturers of this institution. It was the studies too of

the Gresham College which led to the formation of the first scientific institution of modern times—the Royal Society. It was here that, in 1658, the members first formed themselves into a regular body under the presidency of Lord Brounker, and here they continued to have their sittings till their removal to Old Somerset House.

It will not surprise the reader to be farther informed, that while such men were the professors, and such the spirit prevailing, the Gresham lectures were among the most popular exhibitions of this metropolis, and resorted to by multitudes of all classes. Of this we have a striking proof in the exordium to the inaugural oration of Sir Christopher Wren, who was, in his twenty-fifth year, elected to be the professor of astronomy. "Looking," he says, "with respectful awe, on this great and eminent auditory—while here I spy some of the politer genii of our age; here some of our patricians; there, many choicely learned in the mathematical sciences, and everywhere, those that are more judges than auditors; I cannot but with juvenile blushes betray that which I must apologize for. And, indeed, I must seriously fear, lest I should appear immaturely covetous of reputation, in daring to ascend the chair of astronomy, and to usurp that big word of demonstration, *dico*, with which (while the humble orator insinuates only) the imperious mathematician commands assent; when it would better have suited the bashfulness of my years, to have worn out more *Lustra* in a *Pythagorean* silence. I must confess I had never designed any thing farther, than to exercise my *radius* in private dust, unless those had inveighed against my

both and remissness, with continual but friendly exhortations, whom I may account the great ornaments of learning and our nation, whom to obey is with me sacred; and who, with the suffrages of the worthy senators of this honourable city, had thrust me into the public sand."

The first serious interruption to the prosperity of Gresham College, was occasioned by the civil wars. When the Commonwealth triumphed, the professors, who had mostly been of the royal party, were turned out, and the place converted into a barrack for soldiers.

Sir Christopher Wren's cousin, the eldest son of the bishop of Ely, in a letter to Sir Christopher, states, that on the first day of term (1658) he went to Gresham College, to know whether Dr. Horton entertained the new auditory with a lecture; "but," says he, "at the gate I was stopped by a man with a gun, who told me there was no admission upon that account, the college being *reformed* into a garrison."

Another of Wren's correspondents, Bishop Sprat, thus pours forth the indignation of a scholar but no Scotsman, at this disgraceful sort of reformation.

"DEAR SIR,—This day I went to Gresham College, but found the place in such a nasty condition, so defiled, and the smells so infernal, that if you should now come to make use of your tube, (telescope) it would be like Dives looking out of hell into heaven. Dr. Goddard, of all your colleagues, keeps possession, which he could never be able to do, had he not before prepared his nose for camp perfumes, by his voyage into Scotland, and had he not such excellent restoratives in his cellars. The soldiers, by their

violence, which they put on the Muses' seats, have made themselves odious to all the ingenious world, and if we pass by their having undone the nation, this crime we shall never be able to forgive them: and as for what concerns you, they have now proved, that their pretensions to religion were all feigned, since by hindering your lectures they have committed so manifest a mischief against Heaven. Yet your many friends here hope you will hereafter recompense this unhappy leisure which is afforded you, by making those admirable discourses, which you had intended for this place, more public; and that you will imitate Cicero, who being hindered from pronouncing his oration *pro Milone*, by the guards of Pompey's soldiers that encompassed his chair, set it forth afterwards more perfect than all the rest."

The cause of Goddard's keeping possession was, his attachment to the party of Cromwell, in whose parliament he sat as member for the university of Oxford. Sprat speaks delightedly of the "excellent restoratives in his cellars," and no doubt with justice, since all the world has heard of *Goddard's drops*. The formula for this preparation was sold by the doctor to Charles the Second for 5,000*l*.

The Restoration reinstated the professors in their places, but they had not long enjoyed them, when the great fire, by destroying the Exchange, deprived the College of the great source of its support. The trustees of Sir Thomas Gresham, with a spirit of liberality which has already been the subject of our eulogium, continued for a considerable time afterwards to pay the salaries of the lecturers and other expenses of the institution, out of their own pockets; but their

payments on this account accumulated at last to so large a sum, that they declined to make any farther advances. The lecturers instituted proceedings in Chancery, in order to force the trustees still to maintain the College, on the plea, that its interests had been sacrificed to the vanity of having a magnificent Exchange, contrary to the will of the founder, whose beneficent intentions were said to have embraced equally both establishments. The court was, however, spared the necessity of deciding on so nice a plea by a compromise between the parties, according to which the trustees agreed to continue the lectureships on the footing on which they now are.

The College itself and the alms' houses attached to it were soon after taken down under the authority of an act of parliament ; and the Excise Office built on their site. While the College existed, each professor had apartments in it allotted for his residence ; but the salary is now the only benefit attached to the appointment. According to the institutions of the founder, no married man could hold a professorship ; and Charles the Second was obliged, on this account, to grant a special dispensation in favour of Dr. Horton, who, on being turned out of the College by Cromwell's soldiers, had disqualified himself, by marrying, from resuming his functions at the Restoration. Now, however, that residence is no condition of a professorship, this regulation is of course become inapplicable.

The lectures were appointed by Sir Thomas Gresham to be read daily, both in Latin and English ; but for a long time they have only been delivered during term time, agreeably to the practice of the

universities. In 1706, there was a petition presented by some citizens to the trustees, praying that they would order the daily readings to be resumed, but it had not the effect desired ; a century has elapsed, and there is not a citizen now who cares whether the lectures are read daily, yearly, or not at all.

Let us hope that the trustees will yet awake to a keener sense of the importance of this branch of their trust, than to suffer it thus to sink into utter oblivion. The remedy seems to us simple and easy. Make the lectureships worth the ambition of men of genius and talents, and have men of genius and talents to fill them. We ask not from the trustees larger salaries for the professors, but merely that they will allow them, as other lecturers with small salaries are allowed to do, to receive fees, under the controul of the trustees, from those who attend on their prelections. The original institutions of the College require, it is true, that the admission shall be gratis ; but after so many more serious departures from these institutions, it would be idle to let them stand in the way of any change which would tend to carry better into effect the real intentions of the founder. The college at Edinburgh presents an example of how much may be effected by such an arrangement. It has risen to almost unrivalled eminence, not by large endowments, nor by expensive laboratories, nor by rare collections ; but solely by the lecturing of professors, whose fixed salaries have not been on an average greater than those of the Gresham professors, but who, by the fame of their abilities, have drawn around them students enough to compensate them handsomely for their labours in the cause of literature and science.

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

The founder of the Royal Exchange and Gresham College was accounted, in his time, the first commoner in England, and, from being employed to transact all the commercial affairs of the court, had the designation of "The Royal Merchant." He was not only the confidant, but the companion of royalty. Oftener than once we read in parish annals of the "ringing of the bells" on the occasion of the Queen's Majesty (Elizabeth) going to Sir Thomas Gresham's ; and under his roof it was, that foreign princes, when they visited this country, most usually took up their abode.

Sir Thomas Gresham was not merely a friend to literature, but himself no mean proficient in polite learning. He was well acquainted with the ancient and modern languages ; and particularly versant in all matters of trade and civic economy.

Queen Elizabeth, in testimony of the esteem which she had conceived for this worthy magistrate, made him, in 1570, a grant of the manor of Heston in Middlesex ; and Sir Thomas, having united to it by purchase the contiguous manor of Osterley, built on it a mansion, which, by the name of Osterley House, was long famous for its magnificence and splendour. It was a house, says Morden, "becoming a prince."

Here Sir Thomas gave a grand entertainment to his royal benefactress, which has been a theme for the pens both of poet and historian. Among the lost publications of Churchyard the poet, there was one entitled "The Devises of Warre, and a Play at Austerley, her highness being at Sir Thomas Gresham's."

It would seem from the circumstances related, to have been, what in good old hospitable English is called, *the house warming*. Fuller, in his "Worthies," tells us that her majesty having found fault with the size of the court in front of the house, and suggested that it would look more handsome if "divided with a wall in the middle," Sir Thomas sent for workmen, who, in the course of the night (for Elizabeth had slept at the house of the royal merchant) applied themselves to the work with so much diligence, that in the morning, when the queen looked forth, she beheld her suggestion carried into effect. The metamorphosis was of course the subject of general observation; and many were the witticisms sported on the occasion. One of the courtiers is said to have observed, that "it was no wonder Sir Thomas could so *change a building* who could *build a change*;" and another, that "any house is more easily divided than united," alluding to a disunion in the knight's family, for Sir Thomas, unfortunately, was not happy in his marriage. We suspect, however, that the whole of the story on which these jokes depend, is somewhat apocryphal. It seems as if it were a London version of a story very common, because it is common to all countries, where adulation to kings and queens has been once the fashion. Fuller, we know, was never very scrupulous about authorities, where a witticism or a pun was to be verified. We think it is more probable that this offence against good taste—for such it must be admitted to have been—was committed by Sir Thomas himself, in the first instance, and the apology for it found afterwards. Elizabeth shewed in no other instance those absurd notions of propriety which the

suggestion here imputed to her would imply. Sir Thomas, however, with all his wealth, and all his learning was still a citizen; and might, as many citizens do even unto the present day, prefer some purpose of convenience or utility to every other consideration. We have indeed certain proof, that Sir Thomas Gresham, in laying out the ground surrounding his mansion at Osterley, had been guided by views of business, which, while they do honour to his memory, as a benefactor to the arts and commerce of his country, might, with a Walpole or a Knight, gain him only the appellation of a Goth or Vandal. Norden, whose description of Osterley House is, we believe, the oldest extant, being written in 1596, says, "It standeth in a parke, by him also impaled, well wooded, and garnished with many fair ponds, which afforded not only fish and fowl, as swans and other water fowl; but also great use for milles, as paper-milles, oyle-milles, and corne-milles, all which are now (1577) decayed, (a corn-mill excepted)." We doubt whether all England can produce such a *pleasure ground* of the same antiquity. Well might the owner of it take the grasshopper for his arms.

Osterley House, as originally constructed, had four square turrets, one at each corner; and in these, at least, there was so much taste, that Lord Oxford, in his description of Houghton Hall, confesses the architect had taken them for his model.

The house and manor came, about the beginning of last century, into the possession of the Child family, by whom the principal parts of the ancient structure were taken down, and the present noble mansion erected in its stead. It is now the property

of the Earl of Jersey, in right of his countess, who is the eldest daughter of the Earl of Westmoreland, by a daughter of Robert Child, esq.

Sir Thomas Gresham lies interred in the church of St. Helen's, near Crosby-square. A plain marble tomb of the altar fashion marks the spot, but it is without any inscription.

In the Mercers' Hall, there is a half-length portrait of Sir Thomas on pannel, which has once been a good picture, but there is a still better, by some old master, in the gallery of Osterley House.

PLAGUE YEARS.

Whether the plague is really a contagious disease or not, is a question which it belongs rather to the physician than the historian to determine. Happily it is one so rare in modern times in this country, as to render the decision of much less importance than it would have been two or three centuries ago. It is, however, to be regretted, for the sake of those countries where the plague is still prevalent, and its ravages destructive, that the character of the disease is not better defined, the causes of it more clearly ascertained, or the remedy more obvious.

The plague was long the severest scourge of the British metropolis ; and a period of ten years scarcely ever elapsed, without the city experiencing one of those awful visitations, which the superstition of the time turned to every cause but the right one—the confined, dirty, and unventilated state of the place. In the article on climate, (Part I.) we have proved

that the climate of England was, in ancient times, more genial than at present: it is, however, equally certain that the metropolis was much less healthy. The narrow streets in which the current of air was either obstructed by architectural projections, or by the signs across them, together with the want of cleanliness, owing to the inefficient supply of water, and the want of regulations to prevent the accumulation of filth in the streets, did much to increase if not even to generate that disease, which, under the name of the plague, occupies so prominent a place in the severe visitations of the British metropolis.

More than a century and a half has elapsed since the plague was known in London, whereas, previous to the fire of London, there had scarcely ever passed ten years, for many centuries, in which the city was free from its destructive ravages. In the middle ages, as we have before stated, our church-yards groaned with the bones of the dead, piled up, and exposed to the air which they corrupted—the streets were filled with garbage and filth which no exercise of authority could compel the inhabitants to remove—the sewers which generally ran above ground, were in a neglected state, while the sluttishness within doors corresponded with the filthiness of the streets without.

As early as the 14th century we find the plague attributed to want of cleanliness; for when, in the year 1361, it was dreaded that the plague, which made its appearance in France, would cross the channel, the king sent a letter to the mayor and sheriffs of London, commanding, that cattle should not be killed nearer London than Stratford-le-Bow or

Kensington. Even as late as the memorable years 1625 and 1665, the plague was attributed to this want of cleanliness ; and the tracts of the time are full of complaints on the subject. " Let not carcasses of horses, dogs, cats, and other animals," says the author of a pamphlet, entitled, " Certain Rules, Directions and Advertisements, on the Plague," printed in London in 1625, " lye rotting and poisoning the air, as they have done in More and Finsbury Fields, and elsewhere, round about the cittie." Another author of the same period distinctly attributes the plague to " all sorts of unsavoury stench, proceeding either from carrion, ditches, and rotten dunghills, vaults, sinks, nasty kennels, and streets strewn with all manner of filth, seldom cleansed ; these fœtid smells are the maintaining cause of the contagion."

Although there is strong reason to believe, that for some centuries, the city was not wholly free from the plague ; yet, there have been particular years when it has broken out with singular fury, and which, on this account have been denominated *plague years*. Independently of those which have been general to the country, we find London has suffered more immediately on several occasions.

The year 1348 is distinguished by a dreadful pestilence, which is said to have originated in India, and thence spread over all the globe. Historians relate, that it fell with so much force on London, as scarcely to leave " a tenth person of all sorts alive." The ordinary cemeteries were insufficient, and burial grounds were opened in several places beyond the walls of the city, where the dead were heaped in indiscriminate confusion. Fifty thousand persons perished in London

alone. The years 1361 and 1369, were also plague years, but less fatal to London than that of 1407; when 30,000 were swept from the metropolis. The plague of 1479, though of short duration, only from September to November, was very destructive, but nothing equal to that of 1499-1500, when another 30,000 of the citizens of London were hurried to a premature death. The king and court, taking the alarm, removed from place to place, and lastly to Calais, then belonging to England, in order to avoid the infection. In a former year 1485, if we are to believe Hall, a sweating sickness killed two mayors and six aldermen in one week. The pestilences of 1513, 1525, and 1548, were also severe. During that in 1525, Michaelmas term was adjourned, and the king removed to Eltham, where he kept his christmas with so unusually small a court, that it was called the *Still Christmas*.

In the plague of 1563-1564, 20,000 persons died in London, and the lawyers suspended one term, and removed the sittings of another to Hereford castle; while in that of 1574, the city banquet at Guildhall on the installation of the new Lord Mayor, was dispensed with by order of the queen. The plague of 1582, carried off nearly 7000 persons, and that of 1592, more than 11,000.

Almost every succeeding plague exceeded its predecessor in severity; that which followed in 1603, on the succession of James the Sixth of Scotland to the throne, was particularly fatal. The citizens had welcomed the king to London in great triumph, and conducting him to the charter-house, where he had "a most royal entertainment" for four days, given to him

by Lord Thomas Howard. Great preparations were also made in the city for the coronation, but these were interrupted by the plague, which was by this time considerably increased. The coronation indeed took place, but it was stripped of the "pomp and circumstance" of a city pageant. Their majesties "rode not through the city in royal manner as had been accustomed," nor were the citizens permitted to behold the ceremonial at Westminster, being forbidden by proclamation to repair thither, with the exception of the Lord Mayor, and such of the citizens, as by virtue of the ancient claim, assisted the chief butler at the coronation.

The courts of law were removed; Michaelmas term was held at Winchester, and the courts of Exchequer at Richmond. Bartholomew fair and all fairs within fifty miles of the metropolis were suspended; and James issued several proclamations for preventing any further increase of buildings.

The great plagues have not been wanting in historians. That of 1603 has found an eccentric, but by no means inelegant chronicler, in a black letter tract, entitled "The Wonderful Yeare 1603, wherein is shewed the picture of London, lying sicke of the plague. At the end of all (like a merry epilogue to a dull play) certaine tales are cut out in sundry fashions, of purpose to shorten the lives of the long winter nights, that lye watching in the darke for us." The author gives a most vivid description of this horrible pestilence. He compared the citie to a vast silent charnel house, with "lamps dimly and slowly burning," where the pavement, instead of green rushes, "is

strewed with blasted rosemary, withered hyacinthes, fatal cypress, and yew thickly mingled with heaps of dead mens' bodies ; the bare ribs of a father that begat him lying there ; here the chaplesse hollow sculle of a mother that bore him, round about him a thousand corsers ;" and even such he says was the city :

" For he that durst in the dead hour of gloomy midnight, have been so valiant, as to have walkt through the still and melancholy streets, what thinke you should have been his musicke. Surely the loud groanes of raving sicke men : the struggling panges of soules departing. In every house grieve striking up an alarm ; servants crying out for masters ; wives for husbands, parents for children, children for their mothers ; here he should have met some frantickly running to knock up sextons ; there others fearfully sweating with coffins, to steale forth dead bodies, least the fatal hand writing of death should seale up their doores."

" How often," continues this writer, " hath the amazed husband waking, found the comfort of his bedde lying breathlesse by his side ; his children at the same instant gasping for life ; and his servants mortally wounded at the heart by sickness, the distracted creature beats at death doores, exclames at windows, his cries are sharp enough to pierce heaven, but on earth no eare is opened to receive them ! And in this manner do the tedious minutes of the night stretch out the sorrowes of ten thousand.

" It is now day, let us looke forth and try what consolation rises with the sun ; not any, for before the jewel of the morning be fully set in silver, a hundred hungry graves stand gaping, and every one of them (as at a breakfast) hath swallowed down ten or eleven

lifelesse carcasses : before dinner in the same gulfe are twice so many more devoured : and before the sun takes his rest, those numbers are doubled. Threescore that not many houres before had every one severall lodgings here very delicately furnisht, are now thrust altogether into one close roome—a little noisome roome not full ten feet square."

The "tales," which the author introduces "to shorten the lives of long winter nights," are many of them as pathetic as his general description, though some of them have touches of humour, which show that he was no ordinary master of the passions. One of the most affecting is that of a young couple who went to church to get married, when the bride was so ill, that "had not the holy officer made haste, the ground on which she stood to be marryed, might easily have been broken up for buryall." She was led "not like a bride, but rather like a corse to her bed," and died in a few days.

The number of persons who fell victims to the plague during this year, are estimated by some historians at 30,561 ; and by others at 30,578 ; but as the total number of deaths in the city from March to December was 37,294, it is probable, that a larger portion of them fell by the plague than is here assigned to it.

The plague of 1625 was still more destructive, sweeping off from a city already half desolated 35,000 persons in one year. The coronation of Charles the First, like that of his father, King James, was shorn of its accustomed honours, particularly the procession through the city from the tower. In Whitelocke's Memorials, we find a curious anecdote of the terror created by this dreadful scourge.

He says, " When the plague was somewhat assuaged, and there died in London but 2500 in a week, it fell to Judge Whitelocke's turn to go to Westminster-hall, to adjourn Michaelmas term to Reading; and accordingly he went from his house in Buckinghamshire to Horton, near Colnbrooke, and the next morning early to Hyde Park corner, where he and his retinue dined on the ground, with such meat and drink as they brought in the coach with them; and afterwards he drove fast through the streets, which were empty of people, and overgrown with grass, to Westminster-hall; where the officers were ready, and the judge and his company went strait to the King's bench, adjourned the court, returned to his coach, and drove away presently out of town."

In the manuscripts in the British Museum there are several original letters written during the time of this plague, by Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, one of his friends, which give some curious particulars relating to this malady which have escaped the historians of the time. Mr. Mead lived at Christ Church, Cambridge, at the time; but he appears to have had letters every week from Dr. Meddus, the rector of St. Gabriel's, Fenchurch. In a letter, dated July 2, 1625, Mr. Mead states that there were fifty parishes infected within the walls; and as an instance of the very sudden manner in which the hand of death was laid on individuals, he mentions that " My Lord Russel (afterwards fourth Earl of Bedford,) being to go to parliament, had his shoemaker to pull on his boots, who fell down dead of the plague in his presence, whereupon he abstains from that honourable assembly, and hath sent the lords word of this accident."

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In a letter, written the week after, Mr. Mead enumerates the deaths by the plague as in one week 593, and states that the intercourse between Cambridge and London was stopped. ·Hobson the famous carrier, of *Hobson's choice* memory, had gone his last journey in the preceding week. The infection appears to have been at its height in the latter end of July : the deaths during that week were 3583, of whom 2471 were allowed to have died of the plague : and Mr. Mead attributes the deaths of the greatest part of the remainder, to what he calls the invisible plague.

Dr. Meddus, in one of his letters to Mr. Mead, relates the following very credible anecdote. "A woman near the Old Swan, removing into Surrey for fear of the plague, when she was come on the hill, near Streatham, in the way to Croydon, turned back, looked on the city," said "Farewell London and farewell Plague," but soon after was taken sick, had the tokens on her breast, and these words to be distinctly read, "*It is vain to fly from God, for he is every where.*"

Mr. Mead, in communicating this anecdote to Sir M. Stuteville, adds, "You may judge of this or suspend it as you please." This gentleman was not however exempt from the superstitions of the time, for in another letter, dated Sept. 4, he says, "We have some here, make an observation that the first abatement of the plague was the week next following that, wherein came out the proclamation against Papists, and it is true by the date thereof : but let me add my observation too, that, as the walls of Jericho fell down, when the priests with the ark of God had compassed it, blowing trumpets seven days or times ; so is the fall of the sickness, after the seventh general fast,

accounting that general representative of the whole parliament for one."

The plague in the year 1636 was less destructive ; though this does not appear to have been in the least owing to an improved mode of treatment, or that necessary means of preventing it, cleanliness in the houses and streets, since at a much later period, we find complaints on this account as strong and as frequent as ever. During this year, from April to December, the number of persons who died, was 23,357, of whom only 10,400 are supposed to have perished by the plague.

THE GREAT PLAGUE.

Frequently as London had been visited with the plague, and fatal as had been its ravages, no physical precautions were adopted to prevent its recurrence; the houses which in the city had always been close and confined, had become much more so by the mansions, which had formerly been occupied by noblemen, being subdivided to excess, and crowded with people ; the streets were still dunghills for carrion and every species of filth ; the ditches, kennels, and vaults, were seldom cleansed,—the common sewers and canals were almost choked up ; and every part of the city sent forth exhalations sufficient to corrupt the air of a whole country.

At length, as if to rebuke the citizens for thus neglecting the many admonitions that had been given to them, the metropolis was consigned for a whole year to a pestilence more obstinate in its nature, and more

destructive in its effects than any that had preceded it. Although the plague of 1665, the Great Plague as it is called, to distinguish it from all others, is generally supposed to have been brought from the Levant in some goods imported through Holland by a tradesman in Long Acre, (yet independently of the doubt, which exists as to this disease, being at all importable,) there is strong reason to believe that it is to be attributed to the same causes, as produced those that preceded it, the narrow streets, confined air, and want of cleanliness. This seems the more probable, as for a long period London had not been wholly free from the plague. Maitland says, for five and twenty years previous to 1665, it had not been clear of the malady, and that even from the year 1603, until 1670, the bills of mortality exhibit but three years, in which London, more or less, was not afflicted with the plague.

Even in 1665, when it broke out with unresisting fury, the populace considered it only as one of the judgments of the Almighty, to which submission was all they could offer, and conceived that to oppose it would be a mockery, or an insult to the deity. The very fears and superstitions of the people were no inconsiderable auxiliaries to the plague; and they considered themselves as doomed to destruction, by the appearance of the heavens, and by a thousand indications, which, though as nothing in the eyes of philosophy, bring to the timid and superstitious "confirmations strong as proofs of Holy Writ." A comet which had appeared some months before the plague, was, when it broke out, considered as having foretold a judgement slow but severe, terrible and frightful.

These apprehensions were much increased by the pretended prophecies and astrological calculations of a set of imposters who pretended to be better acquainted with the future, than their neighbours. They fabricated stories of malignant conjunctions of the planets, and levied from the credulous no inconsiderable sums, until the hand of death, which respected not their knowledge, levelled them with the dupes of their artifice. So eager were the people to consult fortune-tellers and conjurers, that "if but a grave fellow," says the author of the History of the Great Plague, attributed to Defoe, "in a velvet jacket, a band, and a black coat, which was the habit those quack conjurers generally went in, was but seen in the streets, the people would follow them in crowds, and ask them questions as they went along."

The almanacks too proved a source of terror, and the coming plague was thought to have been fixed in Lilly's Almanack, Gadbury's Astrological Predictions, and poor Robin's Almanack.

Lilly, in his astrological predictions for 1665, certainly does speak of "strange feavers, even unto madness and frenzies, pestilence or plague, unwholesome airs, pestiferous winds, furious blasts, occasioning shipwrecks," that shall happen to some parts of Europe; but he afterwards adds, that "these afflictions even of sickness, or war, effectively will more disturb and oppress those who inhabit in *hot countrys, or near the Line*, and have abiding near the tropics."

Nor does it appear that the people were so much alarmed at this, as at a passage which appeared in his almanack for 1643, in which he gives "an astrological judgement of the conjunction of Saturn and

Mars ;" and vague and indeterminate with respect to time, as the inferences are, they are certainly remarkable. "In the year 1656," says Lilly, "the aphelism of Mars, who is the general significator of England, will be in Virgo, which is assuredly the ascendant of the English monarchy, but *Aries* of the kingdom : when this *Ab-sis* therefore of Mars shall appear in Virgo, who shall expect less than a strange catastrophe of human affairs in this commonwealth, monarchy, and kingdom? There will then either in or about those times, on that year, or within ten years more or lesse of that time, or within a little time after, appear in this kingdom so strange a revolution of fate, so grand a catastrophe of human affairs unto this monarchy and government as never yet appeared ; of which as the times now stand, I have no liberty or encouragement to give any opinion ; only it will be ominous to London, unto her merchants at sea, to her traffique at land, to her poor, to her rich, to all sorts of people inhabiting in her, or her liberties, *by reason of sundry fires and a consuming plague.*"

The alarm of the citizens was aggravated by several publications, which were issued in the early stages of the plague, bearing most portentous titles, and all foretelling the destruction of the city. One of these pamphlets was entitled "Fair Warning ;" a second "Britains Remembrancer," and a third had for its title an epigraph, "Come out of her, my people, lest ye be partakers of her plagues."

Fanatics or visionaries ran through the streets, agitated and agitating by their oral denunciations and predictions. One man ran about in a state of wild disorder, crying day and night like the man mentioned

by Josephus, whose "Woe to Jerusalem" preceded and foretold its fall; he walked quickly, and with a voice and countenance beaming with horror, continually ejaculated "O the great and dreadful God." Another man pretending a more than human authority for preaching to the city, went about like Jonah in the city of Nineveh, crying out "Yet a few days and London shall be destroyed."

However imaginary these horrors were, a fearful reality was soon experienced.

The plague first began in Long Acre, towards the close of the year 1664, when two or three persons suddenly dying in one family, the timid neighbours took the alarm and removed into the city, whither they are supposed to have unfortunately carried the infection. Here it gathered strength from the denseness of the population, and soon its ravages became extensive. The lower classes were seized with a panic; and entertaining an absurd, but very general notion, that the plague visited London every twenty years, they took no means to counteract it.

A frost, which set in in December, and continued three months, if it did not exterminate the distemper, suspended its destructive effects; but no sooner had a thaw succeeded than it burst forth with increased force. From the month of February the plague began to advance; and when it was discovered that it had extended to several parishes, the magistrates issued an order, dated 1st July, 1665, to shut up all the infected houses, which were marked with a red cross, bearing this inscription, "Lord have mercy upon us." Guards were constantly in attendance, to supply the sick with the necessary food, and to prevent them quitting their houses until forty days after

recovery. This precaution is thought to have done much injury. Dr. Hodges, in his *Loimologia*, says, he verily believes that "many who were lost might have been alive, had not the tragical mark upon their door drove proper assistance from them." The same author adds, that what greatly contributed to the loss of the people thus shut up was, the wicked practice of nurses. "These wretches," says he, "out of greediness to plunder the dead, would strangle their patients, and charge it to the distemper in their throats! Others would directly convey the pestilential taint from sores of the infected to those who were well." This is a serious charge, but it is not without a parallel in our own times; for during the last Russian campaign, some Jews who were employed in clearing the hospitals of Wilna of the dead, at a certain sum per head, were actually detected in throwing the sick and wounded out of the window, in order to augment the number.

The plan of shutting up the houses had been first adopted in the plague of 1603, when an act of parliament was passed to authorize it, entitled, "An Act for the charitable Relief and ordering of Persons infected with the Plague." If, on the one hand, it might be contended, that by suffering persons to leave houses infected by the plague, they might extend its ravages, it must on the other be allowed as more than probable, that in many cases whole families fell victims to it, who might have lived, had they been allowed to quit the house on the first appearance of infection in any one of the family.

If the destroyer, when only stalking forth among men free to fly from his approach, and to shrink from

contact with him, committed such havoc, it may be imagined how fell his ravages must have been among persons thus pent up together. Even those who retained full possession of health, might calculate the hours they had still to live; those who to-day turned out the bodies of their lifeless companions, might lay their certain account with following them on the morrow; no hope of escape being left to any, all must have prepared to die; and this consolation at least they must have had, that neither fear nor apprehension could any longer interfere with the tender offices of friendship and affection. The surviving son needed not to shrink from closing the eyes of his dying parent, nor the widowed wife to pillow her head on the cold breast of her departed spouse.

Rigorous as the prohibition to quit an infected house was, yet some were found to brave it. In the "City Remembrancer," for 1665, it is related that "a citizen broke out of his house in Aldersgate-street, and attempted, but was refused, going into the Angel or the White Horse at Islington. At the Pyed Horse he pretended going into Lincolnshire, that he was entirely free from infection, and asked lodgings for the night. They had but a garret bed empty, and that but one night, expecting drovers with cattle next day. A servant showed him the room, which he gladly accepted. He was well dressed; and with a sigh, said he had seldom lain in such a lodging, but would make a shift, as it was but for one night, and in a dreadful time. He sat down on the bed, desiring a pint of warm ale, which was forgot. Next morning, one asked what was become of the gentleman? The maid starting, said, she had never thought more

of him ; he bespoke warm ale, but I forgot it. A person going up, found him dead across the bed ; his clothes were pulled off, his jaw fallen, his eyes open, in a most frightful posture ; the rug of the bed clasped hard in one hand. The alarm was great, having been free from the distemper, which spread immediately to the houses round about. Fourteen died of the plague that week in Islington."

In the months of May, June, and July, the plague had continued with more or less severity ; but in August and September it quickened into dreadful activity, sweeping away three, four, five, and sometimes eight thousand persons in a week. Then it was that the whole British nation wept for the miseries of her metropolis. In some houses, carcases lay waiting for burial, and in others, persons in their last agonies ; in one room were heard dying groans, and in another the ravings of delirium, mingled with the wailings of relations and friends, and the apprehensive shrieks of children. Infants passed at once from the womb to the grave. " Who would not," says Dr. Hodges, " burst with grief, to see the stock for a future generation hang upon the breast of a dead mother, or the marriage-bed changed the first night into a sepulchre, and the unhappy pair meet with death in their first embraces ? Some of the infected run about staggering like drunken men, and fell and expired in the streets ; while others lie half dead and comatose, but never to be waked but by the last trumpet."

The divine often received the stroke of death in the exercise of his sacred office ; the physician, finding no assistance in his own antidotes, died while administering them to others. The soldiery, retiring from an

enemy with whom human power could not cope, encamped in the suburbs of the city; but were overtaken, and fell unresisting victims of the great destroyer. Business was suspended; and if in the market a solitary individual was seen purchasing the means of life, that life was often terminated ere he reached his home. The bells seemed hoarse with tolling; and the sextons were not sufficient to bury the dead, with which the church-yards were so glutted, that they were thrown into pits, in heaps of thirty or forty together.

In the month of September the disease was at its height, and more than 12,000 perished in one week. Some persons recommended fires in the streets, and they were kindled for three days, though many of the physicians were against it; but "before the three days were quite expired, the heavens both mourned over so many funerals, and so wept for the fatal mistake, as to extinguish even the fires with their showers." A fatal night succeeded, in which more than four thousand persons expired.

Those moving sepulchres, the "dead carts," continually traversed the streets; while the appalling cry, "Bring out your dead," thrilled through every soul not yet dead to feeling. Then it was that parents, husbands, wives, and children, saw all that was dear to them thrown with a pitchfork into a cart, like the offal of the slaughter-house, to be conveyed without the walls, and flung in one promiscuous heap, without the rites of sepulture, without a coffin, and without a shroud.

Single graves were no longer dug in church-yards, but huge pits, sufficient almost to entomb a whole

army. In Aldgate church-yard, after several pits, capable of holding sixty or a hundred bodies, had been dug and filled, the churchwardens caused one to be formed so large, that they were blamed, as making preparations to bury the whole parish. It was about forty feet in length, and fifteen or sixteen feet broad, and in some parts about twenty feet deep. Into this gulph they began to throw the dead on the 4th of September, and by the 20th of that month they had cast into it 1,114 dead bodies, when they were obliged to fill it up, as it was within six feet of the surface.

In other church-yards similar pits were dug, till they were choked with the dead, and additional burial grounds were formed in several parts of the town, some of which have ever since been used for the same purpose, while others have no trace of the dread calamity which first marked them out as sepulchres.

The burial ground in Bunhill-fields, in which many a sturdy nonconformist and dissenter rests in peace, was first appropriated to that purpose during the plague. A piece of ground near the street called Old Bethlem, in Moorfields; and the plot at the top of Hollywell-street, Shoreditch; and a third in Goswell-street, were also used as temporary burying grounds on this melancholy occasion. Stepney, though at this time it had three distinct burying grounds, overcharged them all with its dead; and there were no less than five other pieces of ground devoted to the dead. On two of these the parish churches of St. Paul, Shadwell, and St. John, Wapping, have since been built. A green field at the

upper end of Hand-alley, in Bishopsgate-street, was inclosed for the parish of St. Botolph alone, though the inhabitants of some courts beyond its precincts were allowed to bring their dead to it. Two or three years after the plague, a scene took place here which seemed to bring back all the horrors of that dreadful period. The ground was purchased by Sir Robert Clayton, who immediately let it out on building leases. In digging the ground for the foundations, numberless bodies were dug up; "some of them," says the author of *Reflections on the Bills of Mortality*, "remaining so plain to be seen, that the women's skulls were distinguished by the long hair, and of others the flesh was not quite perished." On complaint being made, the bodies were removed to another place in the same ground, where "the ground," says the same author, "is palisadoed off in a little square, where lie the bones and remains of 2,000 bodies, carried by the dead carts to the grave in one year."

Horrible as these pits were, constables were obliged to be placed near them during the plague; for it was not unusual for persons infected, either seized by a fit of delirium, or, what is more probable, anxious to mingle with the bodies of all that was dear to them, to steal from their houses unobserved, or obtain an egress by bribing the watchmen, and wrapped in blankets and rugs, to throw themselves among the dead.

In this wreck of a city which was half entombed, delirium hurried many even to a premature death. "People," says Defoe, "in the torment of their swellings, which was indeed intolerable, running out of their own government, raving and distracted, and often times laying violent hands upon themselves,

throwing themselves out at their windows, shooting themselves, &c. Mothers murdering their own children in their lunacy, some dying of mere grief and passion, some of mere fright and surprise, without any infection at all; others frightened into despair and lunacy; others into melancholy madness."

Many were the cases in which the mother and her unborn offspring perished at once; in others, where they died for want of proper assistance in the hour of nature's sorrow. Others frequently sucked the fatal poison from the lips of their dying infants.

The plague reached its height in August, and during that month and September, 50,000 perished.

It was now that the dead carts were insufficient for the office, and the houses and streets were rendered tenfold more pestilential by their unburied dead. All who had survived now made the attempt to escape, and eighteen or twenty watchmen were killed in opposing the people when fleeing from the infected houses.

The change which now took place in the feelings of the people is thus vividly described by Defoe.

"As I have mention'd how the people were brought into a condition to despair of life, and abandon themselves, so this very thing had a strange effect among us for three or four weeks; that is, it made men bold and venturous; they were no more shy of one another, or restrained within doors, but went any where and every where, and began to converse. One would say to another, 'I do not ask you how you are, or say how I am. It is certain we shall all go; so 'tis no matter who is sick or who is sound;' so they run deliberately into any place or company."

The moral lesson conveyed in the following passage is worthy of being kept in everlasting remembrance.

“As it brought the people into public company, so it was surprising how it brought them to crowd into the churches; they inquired no more unto whom they sat near to or far from, what offensive smells they met with, or what condition the people seemed to be in; but looking upon themselves all as so many dead corpses, they came to the churches without the least caution, and crowded together, as if their lives were of no consequence, compared to the work which they came about. Indeed, the zeal which they showed in coming, and the earnestness and affection they showed in their attention to what they heard, made it manifest, *what a value people would all put upon the worship of God, if they thought every day they attended at the church that it would be their last.* Nor was it without other strange effects, for it took away all manner of prejudice at, or scruple about the person whom they found in the pulpit, when they came to the churches. It cannot be doubted, but that many of the ministers of the parish churches were cut off among others in so common and so dreadful a calamity; and others had not courage enough to stand it, but removed into the country as they found means to escape. As then some parish churches were quite vacant and forsaken, the people made no scruple of desiring such dissenters as had been a few years before deprived of their livings, by virtue of the act of parliament, called the act of uniformity, to preach in the churches; nor did the church ministers in that case make any difficulty of accepting their assistance; so that many of those whom they

called silenc'd ministers had their mouths open'd on this occasion, and preach'd publicly to the people."

The zeal and fidelity of these ministers was but ill requited when the danger was over. The penal clauses in the act of uniformity were not only not repealed, but as soon as parliament met in October, a still more severe act was passed against them, by which it was enacted, that all dissenting ministers should take oath "that it was not lawful, on any *pretence whatsoever*, to take arms against the king, or any commissioned by him; and that they would not, at any time, attempt an alteration in the government of church or state." Such as refused to take the oath were not to come within five miles of any city or parliament borough, or of the church where they had served.

The dead now were no longer numbered, for the parish clerks and sextons perished in the execution of their office. In the parish of Stepney alone, one hundred and sixteen sextons, grave-diggers, and carters employed in removing the dead bodies, died in one year. Ten thousand houses were at once deserted, and it is said, that during the plague, not fewer than 200,000 persons quitted the metropolis.

"Empty the streets with uncouth verdure clad,
Into the worst of desarts sudden turned
The cheerful haunts of man."

In the last week of September, the plague began somewhat to abate, and the bills of mortality fell from upwards of 8000 to little more than 6000 weekly. Every succeeding week, the number of victims diminished, so that by the month of February, in the fol-

lowing year, the pestilence had wholly ceased. The number that perished during this plague, according to the returns, were 68,590 ; but Defoe asserts, "that the number was at least 100,000. The lives of a great many persons were preserved by means of the shipping on the Thames, into which the infection did not reach except in a very few instances.

The survivors of this dreadful calamity would have perished of famine, but for the bounty of the affluent. The money subscribed, is said to have amounted to 100,000*l.* a week, to which Charles II. humanely gave 1000*l.* weekly. In the parish of Cripplegate alone the disbursements to the poor amounted to 17,000*l.* a week. But even when the poor had obtained the money, they feared to lay it out in provisions, lest they should by this means catch the infection. If they bought a joint of meat in the market, they would not receive it from the butcher, but took it off the hooks themselves ; the butcher equally cautious would not touch the money, but had it dropt into a pot with vinegar kept for the purpose. Workmen were equally cautious with their masters, and even members of the same family with each other.

The conduct of the magistracy, during the prevalence of calamity, did them infinite honour. Darwin has celebrated the heroic devotion of Sir John Lawrence, " London's generous Mayor," who,

" When contagion, with mephitic breath,
And wither'd famine urg'd the work of death,
* * * * *

With food and faith, with med'cine and with
prayer,

Rais'd the weak head, and stay'd the parting sigh ;
Or with new life relum'd the swimming eye."

"The vigilance of the magistrates," says the account ascribed to Defoe, "was put to the utmost trial, and, it must be confessed, can never be enough acknowledged ; whatever expense or trouble they were at, two things were never neglected in the city or suburbs either.—First, provisions were always to be had in full plenty, and the price not much raised either hardly worth speaking.—Second, no dead bodies lay unburied, or uncovered ; and, if one walked from one end of the city to another, no funeral, or sign of it, was to be seen in the day time, except a little in the three first weeks in September."

The delivery of corn and coals at the wharfs was subjected to such judicious regulations, by the lord mayor and aldermen, that the traders brought up their vessels with full confidence of safety. For the security, too, of the country dealers by land, new markets were established on the outskirts of the metropolis, and proper regulations made to ensure the safety of those who attended them. Either the lord mayor, or one, or both of the sheriffs, went every market-day on horseback to see these orders executed ; and, to take care that the country people had all possible encouragement and freedom in coming to the markets, and going back again. The necessitous were furnished with food and money gratuitously, and the aldermen frequently rode through the streets on horseback, to inquire whether the wants of the people in the streets or houses were duly supplied.

In this year of desolation, the most appalling scenes were continually occurring, which language would in

vain attempt to depict. Many were the instances in which bodies were found stripped naked by thieves ; and others, where the stupor of disease was mistaken for the sleep of death, and bodies yet warm and breathing, were buried in the general mass.

Tradition relates a narrow escape of a poor piper, which has been further immortalized by that great sculptor, Cibber, in a statue well known in Tottenham-court-road. It represents a Highland piper playing on his pipes, with his dog and keg of liquor by his side. The piper, as the story goes, usually took his stand at the bottom of Holborn hill, near St. Andrew's church, and having one day met with some of his countrymen, he drank rather freely, and sought a couch on the steps of the church. As this was no time to sleep in the infected streets, when the dead cart arrived, one of the men, did not hesitate to put his fork into the piper's belt, and transfer him to the cart. The piper's dog attempted to prevent his master from being carried off, but unable to do this he determined to accompany him, and leaping into the cart, began howling most piteously over the body of his master. The shaking of the cart along the rugged pavement, and the howling of the dog, at length awoke the piper, who, instinctively turning to his pipes, struck up a lively Scotch tune, to the great terror of the carters, who fancied they had got a cargo of ghosts, until lights having been procured, the piper was released, and his narrow escape was commemorated by one of his benefactors, who employed Cibber to execute a statue of him.

Defoe relates the story very differently. He says, the piper was not blind, but a weak ignorant man,

who usually traversed the streets in the parish of St. Stephen, Colemanstreet, about ten o'clock at night ; and that it was John Haywood, the sexton of that parish, who was thus hurrying him away to a premature grave. Defoe also denies, on the authority of Hayward, that the poor fellow used his pipes in the cart.

THE THAMES AND ITS CONSERVANCY.

The grateful monk who enumerated among the cares of Providence, the causing of large rivers to flow near great cities, must have felt peculiarly gratified in beholding the noble river which laves the banks of the British metropolis. There are many larger rivers than the Thames, yet there are few so well calculated for that active and extensive commerce which is carried on in the Port of London. It is as Denham has well described it,

“ Tho’ deep yet clear ; though gentle yet not dull ;
Strong without rage ; without o’erflowing, full.”

This “ King of Floods” rises from a small spring now called Thames-head, near the little village of Hemble, two miles south-east of Cirencester, in Gloucestershire. This brook is sometimes called Isis, and with the Thame another rivulet that joins it near Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, forms the “ most lov’d of all the Ocean’s sons.” Taking its course eastward, the Thames becomes navigable at Lechlade, whence it continues its course north-east to Oxford, where it receives the Cherwell. It

enters Berkshire, near Fairford, and flowing to Reading, is considerably increased by the waters from the Wiltshire Hills. Washing the towns of Windsor and Eaton it flows into Middlesex a little above the town of Staines, where it receives the river Colne. Nothing can be more picturesque than its devious course towards the metropolis, along banks of such fertility and abounding in scenery so delightful that as one of its many poets observes,

“ Such fields, such woods, such stately piles appear ;
Such gardens grace the earth, such tow’rs the air,
That Thames with Roman Tiber may compare.”

At Putney and Battersea, the Thames, which has received the tributary streams of the Wey, the Crane, the Brent, and the Wandle, has become a large and busy stream, and at these places is crossed by two wooden bridges. At Vauxhall it is crossed by a light and beautiful iron bridge, and between this place and the Tower four other bridges are erected over it.

After running through the metropolis, the Thames rolls onward past Deptford, Greenwich, and Gravesend, until, joined by the Medway, they pay their joint tribute to the ocean, at the Nore. The river, which in London is from eight hundred to fifteen hundred feet in breadth, is seven miles broad at the Nore. It is navigable nearly one hundred and forty-three miles above London Bridge : its whole length is upwards of one hundred and eighty miles ; and the tides, which ebb and flow twice every twenty-four hours, affect the river upwards of eighty miles from the sea. The

Thames has also its spring tides, and is remarkable for the inequality of its tides, a subject much dwelt upon by the early historians, who considered every deviation from the ordinary flow and ebb, as a prodigy. It is related, that on the 12th of October, 1411, and on the 17th of September, 1550, the Thames flowed thrice in one day. In the years 1564, 1574, 1608, 1609, 1622, 1653, 1654, and 1660, similar phenomena occurred, all of which might, no doubt, have been traced to very natural causes had they been observed at the time.

The Thames has sometimes overflowed its banks considerably in the metropolis. The most memorable instance of this sort was on the 1st of September, 1555, when, in consequence of heavy rains and a high wind, the river was forced into the King's Palace at Westminster, and into Westminster Hall, a circumstance particularly unfortunate, as it was the day on which the Lord Mayor of London had to present the Sheriffs to the Barons of the Exchequer. Stowe says, "all Westminster hall was full of water," but he does not inform us, whether the city magistrates presented the sheriffs in a boat or not, though he informs us by report that morning, that "a wherrie man rowed with his boate over Westminster Bridge into the Palace Court, and so through the staple gate, and all the wooll staple into the king's streete." All the marshes on the Lambeth sides were also so overflowed, that "the people from Newington Church could not pass on foote, but were carried by boates from the said church to the Pinfold, neere to St. George's in Southwark."

In 1774 there was another great overflow ; and again

on the 2d of February, 1791, when considerable damage was done to the wharfs along both sides of the river. Westminster, which always suffered most from an inundation of the Thames, saw boats plying, instead of hackney coaches, in Palace Yard and Privy Gardens, like Egypt watered by an over-bountiful river.

In the winter of 1821 the Thames again burst its bounds; though neither promoted by an easterly wind, nor a sudden thaw. It appears by an official report presented by officers appointed to make a survey of the river, that the flood rose four inches higher than it did in 1774, as recorded by a stone let into a wall at Shepperton. Considerable damage was done above Westminster Bridge, yet the navigation of the river in the city district was never an hour impeded.

The government or conservatorship of the river Thames is vested in the City of London, whose jurisdiction extends westward as far as Staines. This town is supposed to have taken its name from the Saxon *Stana* or stone, which marks the limits of the city's authority. The stone, which bears the early date of 1280, stands on the margin of the river near Staines church. During the mayoralty of Sir Watkin Lewes in 1781, the stone was placed on a new pedestal. The city jurisdiction extends eastward to Yendal or Yenleet, and includes also part of the Medway and the river Lea.

The conservancy of the Thames has been claimed by the City of London ever since the reign of Richard I., who, for a sum of fifteen hundred marks, granted a charter which empowered the city to re-

move all wears from the river. The authority claimed under this charter was afterwards confirmed by more explicit enactments. The power of the citizens not merely extended to the water and the fish, but to the actual bed of the river, so that, according to a manuscript in the papers of Lord Burleigh, quoted by Strype, they have the ground and soil under the river, "whereupon if any that hath a house or land adjoining do make a strand, stairs, or such like, they pay forthwith a rent to the city of London."

The authority of the city was long disputed by the lord high admiral of England, until the decision of a court of justice and the confirmatory charter of James the First, fixed the conservatorship of the Thames in the hands of the city, to be exercised by the lord mayor for the time being, or his deputy, an officer with the title of water bailiff, who protects the rights of the city, and its authority over the river.

The lord mayor holds a court of conservancy eight times a year, at any place he pleases within the city jurisdiction, on the banks of the river, either in Middlesex, Surrey, Essex, or Kent. The jury attendant on the court is always summoned from the county in which it is held. In order to hold the court, the lord mayor, with the necessary officers, proceeds in state in the city barge, and is often accompanied by some of the barges of the companies, who render it an agreeable aquatic excursion. Once in every seven years, the lord mayor traverses the whole limits of his jurisdiction on the Thames and the Medway.

A material part of the duty of the water bailiff is to regulate the watermen who ply on the river, and who are a very numerous body, amounting to ap-

wards of 12,000, two-thirds of whom are freemen of the city. As far back as 1556, they were incorporated by act of parliament, and have their rulers and overseers; but the general government and superintendence of the body is vested in the city magistracy, who are empowered by a statute passed in the 34th of George III. to make rules and orders for the government of watermen, wherry-men, and lightermen, between Gravesend and Windsor, and to enforce observance of them by penalties and forfeitures. The wherries belonging to this fraternity are required to be twelve feet and a half long, and four feet and a half broad in the midship; they are all numbered, and the rates of fare fixed, for any exaction beyond which the offender may be punished, on complaint being made at Watermen's Hall, (on St. Mary's-hill): In point of fact, however, but little regard is paid to the established list of fares, which are very generally exceeded, and as generally acquiesced in, from a feeling, we believe, that they are rather less than they ought to be. Among other regulations for the good conduct of the watermen, they are particularly cautioned against the use of improper and immodest language; and offenders in this respect are punishable by fine. By an act of parliament of the 11th and 12th of William III. the lightermen were united to the watermen, and placed equally under the jurisdiction of the city magistrates.

The Thames westward has several locks, without which, owing to the great number of shoals, it would not be navigable in summer. The locks within the city's jurisdiction, according to a return made to an order of the house of commons, yielded to the city a

revenue of 12,506*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* for the year ending the 29th of September, 1822. Upwards of 1,000*l.* had, however, to be deducted for incidental repairs. The profits of the locks have been a good deal injured by canals, yet the interests of the city have been protected; since we find in the same parliamentary return, that the Grand Junction Canal Company paid to the city 600*l.* for compensation for loss of toll that year; the Regent's Canal Company 450*l.*; and even the Surrey Iron Railway Company 10*l.*

The immense property continually lying in shipping in the river Thames, was long subject to the most daring depredations. The robbers were indeed so numerous, that they were divided into classes.

The *River Pirates* formed the most desperate class. They plundered ships and small craft in the night; and have been known to weigh a ship's anchor, and hoist it with the cable into the boat; and when discovered, to tell the captain what they had robbed him of, and row away, bidding him a good night.

The *Night Plunderers* consisted of watchmen, who, formed into gangs of five or six each, used to lighten every vessel they could get to of some portable articles of her cargo, while a receiver was always in readiness to purchase the spoils of the night. These night plunderers have frequently been known to cut lighters adrift, and follow them down the river, to a place where they could more successfully carry off the cargo, which they have sometimes done completely.

The *Light Horsemen* confined their depredations to West-India ships, and originated in the connivance of the revenue officers at a connexion established between the mates of the vessels and some receivers

on shore. In all West-India ships there is a quantity of sugar spilt in unloading the cargo, which is claimed as a perquisite by the mates, and sold. The purchasers of these sweepings, however, by a bribe of forty or fifty guineas, often succeeded in getting on board the ships, and opening the hogsheads and taking as much as they could, by the assistance of coopers and watermen, carry away with them. They were provided with black bags, which they called black strap, and these were often filled and emptied during a night. Puncheons of rum were also drawn by means of a small pump.

The *Heavy Horsemen*, another class of river plunderers, went on board ships, either by connivance, or in the day, under the pretext of selling some articles. They were provided with peculiar dresses, which had pockets all round, and bag bladders and pouches affixed in various parts, which they filled with sugar, coffee, cocoa, or any portable articles they could lay their hands on. In the night they would frequently plunder more largely, and boats, rowed by what were called *Game Watermen*, were constantly near the ships, ready to receive the stolen property and conduct them on shore. So active were the heavy horsemen, that they frequently made five guineas a night; and an apprentice to the game watermen has been known to keep a country house and a saddle horse.

The *Mud-Larks*, the *Scuffle-Hunters*, the *Copemen*, and several other classes of depredators, were not confined to any particular branch of plunder, but were ready, either as principals or auxiliaries on all occasions.

The coal-heavers, of whom there were 1200 or

1400 constantly engaged on the river, were in the constant practice of each man taking his sack of two or three bushels of coals when he went on shore during the unloading of a ship. Neither the captain nor the owner of the ship and cargo durst resist their taking what they considered as a perquisite, and when found then a boat ready to sink with their plunder, they conceived themselves the injured party.

Some idea may be formed of the success of these plunderers, when it is stated, that the loss of various classes of property on the river, previous to the formation of the docks and the establishment of marine police, was half a million annually, of which, according to an averaged estimate of some years, the West India trade suffered annually to the amount of 232,000*l.*; the East Indies, 25,000*l.*; the United States, 30,000*l.*; and the coal trade alone, 20,000*l.*

Such was the state of the cargoes in the river Thames, until, in the year 1797, Mr. Harriott formed a plan of marine police, which, by the aid of Mr. Colquhoun, he was enabled to carry into effect; and so successful was the system thus formed that in the first year the saving to the West India merchants alone, was upwards of 100,000*l.* and to the revenue more than half that sum.

In the same period, no less than 2200 culprits were convicted for misdemeanors on the river; while now the instance of street robberies are so rare, or so unimportant, that they are scarcely ever recorded.

Various amusements have, at different times, taken place on the Thames, adapted to the taste and character of the age. The water quintain has already

been noticed ; it has, however, ceased, and at present rowing and sailing matches seem the only sports with which it is occupied. Of these, one of the most remarkable is the competition for a coat and silver badge, which Dogget the player appointed to be rowed for, annually, by six watermen, on the 1st of August, being the anniversary of the accession of the House of Hanover to the throne. The competitors set out on a signal given, at that time of the tide when the current is strongest against them, and row from the Old Swan, near London bridge, to the White Swan, in Chelsea.

Among the romantic projects of an enterprising people, may be mentioned that of a tunnel under the river Thames, from Gravesend to Tilbury Fort, proposed by Mr. Ralph Dodd, in the year 1798. The plan was to form a cylindrical tunnel, sixteen feet in diameter, and thirty feet under the bed of the river. The plan was a noble one, and if carried into effect ; would have been of infinite service, as it would have saved a distance of fifty miles in the intercourse between the counties of Kent and Essex. The expense too was comparatively trifling ; for while a bridge, even if elevation sufficient could have been given for the shipping, would have cost two millions of money, the estimated expense of the tunnel was little more than fifteen thousand pounds. The plan, however, failed ; for the tunnel had not proceeded far under the bed of the river, when the water broke through in such force, as to render its execution no longer feasible.

The Thames abounds in several varieties of fish for the table ; but the most lucrative branch of the fishery is that of *bleak*, the scales of which are used in making

artificial pearls, and are sold as high as four guineas frequently.

About a century ago, a fisherman caught a prize in the river between Vauxhall and Lambeth, nothing less than the great seal of England, which James II. in his flight had thrown away, to prevent being recognized if stopped. The fisherman took it to court, and was well rewarded.

WESTMINSTER BRIDGE.

Few things are more surprising in the history of London, than that a city which had grown to such magnitude and opulence, and extended for miles along both banks of a mighty stream, should, till so late a period as the middle of last century, have had but one bridge across the river, that of London. It makes probable a statement of Strype's, which seems at first sight very exaggerated, namely, that in his time there were no less than forty thousand watermen upon the rolls of the watermen's company; now they do not much exceed 2,000. The great inconvenience which the inhabitants of Westminster suffered from the want of a bridge at that end of the metropolis, led them at length, in 1734, to apply to parliament for powers to erect one from New Palace Yard to the opposite shore, in the county of Surrey. Strong opposition was made to the measure by the city of London, the inhabitants of Southwark, the watermen, and the west country bargemen, who were all liable to suffer in their peculiar interests by such an erection; but the interest of the public very properly prevailed, and the act was granted. The first stone of the bridge was

laid on the 29th of January, 1738-9, by Henry earl of Pembroke, and the last on the 10th of November, 1750, by Thomas Lediard, esq. It is from wharf to wharf about 1223 feet long; the width is about forty feet, and on each side there is a high ballustrade of stone, with semi-octangular alcoves, to serve as places of shelter from the rain. The free water way under the arches extends to 870 feet; the arches are fifteen in number; the centre one is seventy-six feet wide; the others diminish in width by four feet equally on each side; the two smallest ones close in shore to the abutments are each about 25 feet wide. The whole edifice is of stone, and rests upon a gravel bed, the piers having been sunk for that purpose to from five to fourteen feet under the bed of the river. When the work was nearly finished, in consequence of the incautious removal of some gravel from the bed of the river, immediately joining one of the piers, it sunk so far as to damage the incumbent arch to such a degree, that it was thought proper to have it pulled down and rebuilt. But for this interruption, the bridge would have been finished three years earlier. The total expense of the bridge, which was defrayed by parliament, amounted to 389,500*l*. The architect was an ingenious Frenchman of the name of Labelye.

While Westminster Bridge had no rival but that of London, or only Blackfriars, it was esteemed one of the noblest structures of the kind in the known world; but since the erection near it of Waterloo Bridge, it seems to have lost much of the grandeur which it once possessed. Although not a century old, it has besides suffered greatly from the decomposition of the stone of which it is constructed.

The alcoves on this bridge have another convenience, besides that of affording a shelter from the rain. When a person whispers against the wall of one of them, the sound is very distinctly conveyed across to the corresponding alcove on the opposite side, notwithstanding all the noise occasioned by the passing of carriages, &c. Two friends may thus carry on a very pleasant *tete-a-tete* at forty feet distance from each other. One of these alcoves was for many a day the favourite noon hour retreat of that eccentric character, Walking Stuart, who walked the world all over "in search of the polarity of moral truth." "Who does not remember him," says one of his biographers, "in the recess, on the brow of the bridge, and leaning on his stick, as though he had never walked in his life, but had taken his seat here at his birth, and had grown old in his sedentary habit?"

WATERLOO BRIDGE.

It has been well observed of Waterloo Bridge, that it is "a work not less pre-eminent among the bridges of all ages and countries, than the event which it will commemorate is unrivalled in the annals of ancient or modern history." The celebrated Canova, when on a visit to this country, declared that it was worth a journey from the remotest corner of the earth to behold it. M. Dupin, another intelligent foreigner, describes it as a monument worthy of the *Sexostrises* and the *Cæsars*. The original projector of this bridge, was Mr. George Dodd, but quarrelling with the company, who subscribed the capital to carry the

plan into effect, he was put aside as soon as real business commenced, and the execution of the work confided to Mr. Rennie. It was at first proposed that the bridge should be of wood, and that with the profits arising from a toll on this bridge, which were expected to be immense, one of stone should be afterwards erected ; but after struggling for three sessions to carry a bill to this effect through parliament, the company found the opposition to it so strong, that they abandoned the profit, and having agreed to undertake the building of one of stone, obtained the necessary powers. For this purpose they increased their capital from 100,000*l.* to 500,000*l.* ; and so sanguine were they of being still amply remunerated by the tolls, that the additional capital was all raised among themselves, and shares were at a guinea premium next day. The expense of the building, however, so much exceeded the estimate, that the company was under the necessity of raising about half a million more, by means of annuities on the tolls ; and any chance of a dividend on the original shares has been thus postponed to so remote a period, that they have sunk in the market to a merely nominal price.

Waterloo, or Strand Bridge, as it was first called, consists of nine elliptical arches, each of 120 feet span, and 35 feet elevation. It is of the same width exactly as Blackfriars, and longer within the abutments than Westminster Bridge, by nineteen feet. The roadway is perfectly level, and in this respect the bridge has a decided advantage over every other on the river. The arches and piers are built of large blocks of granite, with short counter-arches over each pier. The adjustment of the equilibrium throughout the whole struc-

ture is said to be singularly perfect, the curve of equilibrium passing every where extremely near to the middle of the blocks.

In building the arches, the stones were rammed together with great force, so that on the removal of the centres, none of the arches sunk more than an inch and a half. In short, "the accuracy of the whole execution seems to have vied with the beauty of the design, and with the skill of the arrangement to render the bridge of Waterloo a monument, of which the metropolis of the British empire will have abundant reason to be proud for a long series of successive ages."

The rapidity with which this great work was erected is not the least remarkable feature in its history. The foundation stone was laid on old Michaelmas day, in 1811, and on the 18th of June, 1816, the first anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, the glorious memory of which it is designed to commemorate, it was opened with great pomp by the Prince Regent in person, accompanied by his royal brother, the Duke of York, the Duke of Wellington, and a long train of persons of the first distinction.

BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE.

"*Pitt's Bridge*" this was originally called, and should continue to be called, for it was in order to perpetuate to posterity the affection which the citizens of London entertained for William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, that they inscribed it with his name, "On the last day of October," says an inscription on a tin plate on the foundation stone of the edifice, "in the

year 1760, and in the beginning of the most auspicious reign of George the Third, Sir Thomas Chitty, Knight, Lord Mayor, laid the first stone of this bridge, undertaken by the common council of London, (in the height of an expensive war, for the public accommodation and ornament of the city ; Robert Mylne being the architect ; and that there may remain to posterity a monument of this city's affection to the man, who by the strength of his genius, the steadiness of his mind, and a kind of happy contagion of his probity and spirit, (under the divine favour and fortunate auspices of George the Second) recovered, augmented, and secured the British empire in Asia, Africa, and America, and restored the ancient reputation and influence of his country among the nations of Europe ; the citizens of London have unanimously voted this bridge to be inscribed with the name of William Pitt." How evanescent a thing is this "city affection !" Of all the thousands who now pass this bridge daily, how few are aware of the fact which this inscription records ! The compliment which the citizens of 1760 unanimously voted, the citizens of later times have refused to confirm, and Pitt's Bridge is now styled beyond all hope of alteration Blackfriars.

The building of this bridge occupied a period of nine years. The expense was small when compared with that of Westminster, and still more with other bridges erected at a later period. The total cost was only 260,000*l.*, which was all defrayed by a toll imposed on passengers for several years. Blackfriars bridge is shorter and not so high as Westminster, but the differences are not so great as to account for the

latter having cost above 100,000*l.* more. The length of this bridge from wharf to wharf is 995 feet ; and its width 42. It has nine elliptical arches, the central one of which is 100 feet wide. Over each pier there is a square recess, supported by Ionic pillars and pilasters, which have a very light and ornamental effect on the appearance of the bridge, when viewed from the river. Blackfriars, unlike Westminster bridge, rests on piles drove under water, and cut off level with the bed of the foundations, by a machinery of Mr. Mylne the architect's invention.

The erection of this bridge was attended with some corresponding improvements of great importance to the adjacent parts of the metropolis. What is now called Bridge-street, one of the most spacious and elegant in the metropolis, was of old the channel of one of its greatest nuisances ; and thither, as to the veriest sink in town, has Pope made the genius of Dullness dismiss her children.

——— “ By Bridewell all descend,
(As morning prayer and flagellation end,)
To where Fleet ditch, with disemboguing streams,
Rolls the large tribute of dead dogs to Thames ;
The king of Dykes ! than whom no sluice of mud
With deeper sable blots the silver flood.”

In 1734 and 1737, this ditch had been arched over as far as the obelisk at the commencement of the present Bridge-street ; and the arching being now continued onward to the bridge, every visible trace of the “sluice of mud” was removed. On the other bank of the river, a new road has been opened in a direct line from the bridge to an obelisk in St. George's

Fields, about a mile distant, and each side of this road has been since lined with lofty and elegant houses. Altogether this forms by far the very finest entrance into the metropolis. When a stranger ascends the bridge, the views of the city which burst upon him on either hand, are singularly grand and picturesque. Before him on the right, he beholds the mighty dome of St. Paul's, and beyond it spires and turrets thickening into a very forest towards the east; on the right, the lofty terraces of Somerset House and the Adelphi, Westminster Abbey's venerable towers, and Waterloo, the first of bridges.

As the opening of this bridge entirely ruined a Sunday ferry established at this place, for the benefit of the poor of the fraternity of watermen, the bridge committee very handsomely agreed to transfer 13,650*l.* consolidated three per cents. to the rulers of the company by way of recompense for the loss; the interest of which is now appropriated to the same uses as the profits which were derived from the ferry.

To defray the expense of lighting, watching, cleansing, and repairing this bridge, there is a particular fund set apart, consisting of a small balance of consolidated three per cent. annuities, left after payment of the expense of erecting the bridge, the rent of some premises, and 15,000*l.* raised by bonds in the credit of the Orphan's Fund, by virtue of an act of the 52d Geo. III. and assigned to the chamberlain for this special purpose. The revenue of this fund in the year 1821-2 was 882*l.* 12*s.* 10½*d.*; the expenditure only 522*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*

SOUTHWARK BRIDGE.

The great extension of buildings in the Borough of Southwark, St. George's Fields, and other parts on the south of the river bearing immediately on London Bridge and Blackfriars, and consequent increase in the thoroughfare over these bridges, suggested the expediency of erecting an intermediate one from the bottom of Queen-street, Cheapside. The projectors of the undertaking were at the pains to obtain an accurate account of the persons, vehicles, and horses, that passed over these two bridges in the course of a day, and the following were the returns; the first taken on the 16th of October, and the second on the 22d of October, 1810.

LONDON BRIDGE.

Persons	56,180
Coaches and Chaises	871
Gigs and Taxed Carts	520
Waggons	587
Carts and Drays	2,576
Horses	472

BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE.

Persons	37,280
Coaches and Chaises	626
Gigs and Taxed Carts	526
Waggons	389
Carts and Drays	1,269
Horses	433

Calculating that one-sixth of these passengers would prefer the new bridge, the projectors saw in

the toll that might fairly be imposed an ample return for the capital required for its erection. A toll of one penny from that proportion of foot-passengers alone would produce upwards of 60,000*l.*, which would be more than sufficient to pay fifteen per cent on a capital of 400,000*l.*, for which sum Mr. Rennie estimated that a bridge of cast-iron with stone piers might be executed, which, though of less costly materials, would rival in magnificence and splendour that of Waterloo itself.

An act of parliament was accordingly obtained in 1811, for the erection of the proposed bridge; but a provision was inserted, that operations should not be commenced until 300,000*l.* of the 400,000*l.* admitted to be required were subscribed. The unexpected calls which had been made on the Waterloo Bridge Company had however so far damped the ardour for such speculations, that three years elapsed before the requisite sum was made up, and the work actually begun.

The Southwark Bridge consists of three immense arches of cast iron; the span of the centre one is two hundred and forty feet, and of the two side ones two hundred and ten. The abutment is of fine masonry connected by dowels to prevent its sliding; and rests on gratings of timber supported by oblique piles. The piers stand on foundations nine or ten feet below the present bed of the river, and are abundantly secured by a flooring of timber placed on piles.

"When we consider," says M. Dupin, "the extent and elevation of the arches of the bridge, and the magnitude of the elements that compose it, what an idea does it not give to us of the power of man! We

exclaim involuntarily, while we gaze on the *chef d'œuvre*, "Behold the Bridge of Giants!"

The subscribers are allowed by their act of incorporation to receive ten per cent. annually on their shares; and the remainder of the receipts is to be laid by and to accumulate until it shall become sufficient to pay each proprietor double the sum he subscribed, after which the bridge is to be made free to the public.

VAUXHALL BRIDGE.

A second iron bridge over the Thames, near to Vauxhall Gardens, and hence called Vauxhall Bridge, was the project of Mr. Ralph Dodd, the father of the projector of Waterloo Bridge; but, alike in their fates, he also was deprived of the satisfaction of executing his own design. On his dismissal, in consequence of some disagreement with the committee of persons who subscribed for its erection, the aid of Mr. Rennie was called in, and an act of parliament procured for the construction of a bridge according to a design which he proposed, and which was universally approved of at the time. Before operations commenced, however, a new plan was brought under the notice of the committee by Sir Samuel Bentham; and, after much discussion, and, it is said, not a little intrigue, it was resolved to adopt it in preference to the other. Mr. Rennie on this withdrew from any further concern in the undertaking, and the work was begun under the direction of Sir Samuel Bentham. In a short time, however, the successful knight was dismissed in his turn, and it was left to Mr. J. Walker, an engineer of

some eminence, to complete the structure. The first stone was laid in the year 1813, by Prince Charles, now duke of Brunswick, and in August, 1816, the bridge was finished and opened to the public. It is a very light and elegant structure. It consists of nine arches of cast iron, each of 78 feet span, and between eleven and twelve feet rise; which rest on eight piers of thirteen feet each, formed by building on wooden framing for a foundation, a casing of stone filled up with a mixture of Kentish rag stone and Roman cement. The total expense of the structure is stated to have been upwards of 300,000*l.*; and for the indemnification of the subscribers, a toll is levied from the passengers, in the same manner as at Southwark and Waterloo Bridges.

INNS OF COURT.

Fortescue inclines to the opinion, that the inns of court were called so at first, not because the persons resident there followed the profession of the law, but simply from their being the *inns, hospitals, or hotels*, where young men of family and other persons attached to *the court* were wont to reside. In process of time the residents began to associate themselves into fraternities of a collegiate description, and it is not improbable that the majority of them may have devoted themselves to legal studies and pursuits; yet it is certain, that a considerable period elapsed before they were regarded as schools of law merely. Persons of rank and opulence continued to send their sons here, not so much with a view to their following

the profession of the law, as to form their manners, improve their minds, and preserve them from the contagion of vicious habits ; for in these inns we are assured by Fortescue, " all vice was discountenanced and banished, and every thing good and virtuous was taught there ; music, dancing, singing, history, sacred and profane, and other accomplishments."

Among the very ancient inns of court, of which there is no longer any trace, one called Chester Inn is said to have been situated on the spot where Somerset House now stands ; a second at Dowgate ; a third at Paternoster-row ; and a fourth somewhere still nearer St. Paul's cathedral, which in the days of its profanation was the great place of business for lawyers. Each practitioner had his own pillar in the cathedral, where he took his stand at stated hours of the day, with a pen and paper book, ready to receive the instructions of clients. So perfectly, indeed, was the practice recognized, that on the making of a sergeant it was usual for the whole body of sergeants to walk in their robes to St. Paul's, to invest their new brother with his particular pillar of business.

The number of these inns of court appears in the reign of Henry III. to have been so much on the increase, that it was thought necessary to restrain them by proclamation. The mayor and sheriffs were commanded by his majesty to proclaim " through the whole city, and firmly to forbid that any one should set up schools of laws in the said city, and teach the laws there for the time to come."

Some of the inns of court which now exist were however erected after this prohibition. The number

remaining is thirteen, nine of which are within and five without the liberties of the city, and all (we believe) extra parochial.

The inns were anciently of three classes ; two of these might properly have been designated the *outer* and *inner* : the third bore the name of Serjeant's Inns. The outer were called Inns of Chancery, from their being places of elementary instruction, where young men were taught the nature of chancery writs, which were then considered as developing the first principles of law. Such were Clifford's, Thavies, Barnard's, Staple's, Clement's, Lyon's, New Inn, and some other inns now extinct. In the reign of Henry the Sixth there were ten of these lesser inns, each of which contained not less than an hundred students. When persons had made some progress at these inns, they were then admitted into the superior or inner courts, where they perfected their degrees. Of these courts there were four, namely, the Inner and Middle Temple, Gray's Inn, and Lincoln's Inn, which still retain the pre-eminence they originally possessed. At the period of which we have just spoken none of these inns of courts had less than two hundred members.

The Serjeant's Inns, of which formerly there were three, were of a still higher order than any of the others, being occupied solely by the lawyers who had been advanced to the dignity of the coif, including the judges, who, though promoted to the bench, still style every serjeant their " brother." One of these inns, which was situated about the middle of Fleet-street, was held on a lease from the Dean and Chapter of York ; and on the expiry of the lease

it was not thought proper to renew it. The place, though now differently occupied, still retains the name. Another inn, for the use of serjeants only, was situated in Scroop's court, Holborn, near St. Andrew's church. The only Serjeant's Inn, at the present day, is situated at the foot of Chancery-lane.

The two great periods of *study* in the inner and outer courts were rather unaptly termed *vacations*. One commenced on the first Monday after Lammas; each continued three weeks and three days, and during this period nothing was heard of but readings, and mootings, and boltings, and other learned exercises.

It is in allusion to these boltings, or arguing of cases, that Shakspeare says,

“——— He is ill school'd

In *boulted* language: meal and bran together
He throws without distinction.”

CORIOLANUS.

The attendance of the students at these exercises was however entirely voluntary, and being carried on in a barbarous jargon, called Law French, it is not surprising, that in the course of time it should have greatly declined, and at last given way to the more comfortable and now venerated practice of eating one's way to the bar. Ere the 16th century had elapsed, the inns-of-court gentleman, once the pattern of “every thing good and virtuous,” had become a dissolute idler and gallant. “When he should be mooting in the hall,” says Lenton, in his *Characterismi*, “he is perhaps mounting in his chamber, as if his father had only sent him to cut capers.” All his pursuits how-

ever, were not so innocent nor so confined in example. Out of doors he was the gayest, boldest Hector to be seen; his beard the bushiest, his rapier the longest, his hosen and doublet the newest fashioned; no one knew better how to "quoit" the "shove groat shilling," or "beat a knave into a twigger bottle;" the playhouse was his hall, and dealing in troth-plights his lawyer's exercise. In the reign of Henry VIII. an order was made in the Inner Temple, that "the gentlemen of that company should reform themselves in their disguised apparel, and not wear long beards; and that the treasurer should confer with the other treasurers of court for an uniform reformation, and take the justice's opinion upon the matter." The king afterwards ordered, that "those who would not reform in their apparel should be expelled;" and that "all persons should be put out of commons while they wore beards." Parliament was also called upon to lend its aid to the reformation of these communities, by an act (33d Henry VIII.) which prohibited them from playing at shove or slip groats, under a penalty of six shillings and eight-pence for each offence. Still, however, but little reformation took place. In the reign of Philip and Mary, we find, that the beards had so far maintained their ground, that an order was made in the Inner Temple, that fellows of that house might wear beards, three week's growth, but not longer, under a penalty of twenty shillings; and in the first of Queen Elizabeth, it was in Lincoln's Inn "ordered, that no fellow of that house should wear a beard above a fortnight's growth," under the penalty, of loss of commons; and, in case of obsti-

nacy, of final expulsion. Such was the love for long beards, however, that it triumphed at last over every restriction; and, in November, 1562, all previous orders, *touching beards*, were repealed. The long rapier, an appendage of a still more obnoxious description than the long beard, did not fare so well. When the would-be-obeyed Elizabeth ordered watches to be set at each gate of the city, to take measure of every man's sword, that it did not exceed three feet, the inns of court gentlemen were obliged to conform, like others, to this standard; and were farther obliged to lay their rapiers aside on entering their halls, and to content themselves with the dagger behind.

" This sword a dagger had, his page,
Which was but little for his age;
And, therefore, waited on him so,
As dwarfs upon knights' errant do."

HUDIBRAS.

It would seem from this prohibition of the rapier, that it had not always been a harmless attendant at commons. To fight with the dagger and rapier was one of the gallant exercises of the age. " Some will not sticke," says Harrington, in his preface to his " Ariosto," " to call Hercules himself a dastard, because, forsooth, he fought with a club, and not with the rapier and dagger."

The Christmas revels of the Inns of Court were particularly distinguished for their wildness and licentiousness. Every day there was nothing but " feasting, music, singing, dancing, dicing, to which last all comers were admitted; and (the play) was so high

that the box-money amounted to fifty pounds a night; which, with a small contribution from each student, has defrayed the charges of the whole Christmas. Sometimes, when they had a young gentleman who would be profuse, they created him prince, and he had all his officers, and a court suitable to one with that title. At such times, most of the principal nobility, officers of state, &c. were splendidly entertained. These sports and feastings used to last from All Saints' Day to Candlemas, in each house; and some young student was chosen master of the revels." We learn farther, from a statutory prohibition of the reign of Henry VIII. that during this saturnalia, bands of these revellers used to go about armed, break into houses and chambers beyond their precincts, and indulge in all manner of excesses. Even as late as the reign of Charles I. this sort of perambulation was complained of.

The gay and chivalric character which the inns of court gentlemen now affected, was remarkably displayed in a grand masque with which they entertained Charles I. his queen, and their whole court, on Candlemas day, 1634. The object of this exhibition, as we are told by Whitelocke, who was one of the committee of the Middle Temple for managing it, was "to manifest their opinion of Prynne's new learning, and serve to confute his *Histriomastix* against Interludes." The masquers assembled towards the evening, at Ely House, Holborn, and proceeded by torch light to the banqueting house at Whitehall. At the head of the cavalcade, were twenty footmen, or marshal's men, who cleared the streets; dressed in scarlet liveries trimmed with silver lace, and

carrying each a sword, a baton, and a torch; then came the marshal himself, " Mr. Darrel, of Lincoln's Inn, who was afterwards knighted by the king, an extraordinary handsome proper gentleman, mounted upon one of the king's best horses and richest saddles; his own habit exceeding rich and glorious." The marshal was followed by about a dozen trumpeters, preceding one hundred gentlemen of the Inns of Court, " the most proper and handsome of their respective societies, gallantly mounted on the best horses, and with the best furniture that the king's stable, and the stables of all the noblemen of the town, could afford;" and all richly habited and attended by pages and lacqueys, bearing torches. The next groupe which presented themselves, being the first of the anti-masquers, offered a singular contrast to these shewy cavaliers. They consisted of " cripples and beggars on horseback, mounted on the poorest and leanest jades that could be gotten," and advanced to the music of keys and tongs, and other equally sounding instruments. After this beggarly train, came " men upon horseback, playing upon pipes, whistles, and instruments, sounding notes like those of birds of all sorts, and in excellent concert," introductory to an anti-masque of birds, consisting of " an owl in an ivy bush, with many different sorts of birds in a cluster gazing upon her." The third anti-masque, which was of a very satirical character, is said to have been got up chiefly under the direction of Noy, the attorney-general, who wished to throw ridicule on the number of projectors of that day, and on the country which more particularly produced them. It was heralded by bagpipes and hornpipes, and other Scottish in-

struments of music. Foremost, in this anti-masque rode "a fellow on a *little* horse with a *great* bit in his mouth, signifying a projector, who begged a patent, that none in the kingdom should ride their horses but with such bits as they should buy of him." He was followed by another, with a bunch of carrots on his head and a capon upon his fist, who was described as a projector, who "wanted a monopoly for the invention of fattening capons with carrots." Several other profound projectors were typified with equal significance. After these came six musicians on horseback, habited as heathen priests, who prepared the way for a chariot full of gods and goddesses, attended by running footmen with torches in their hands. A similar band of musicians, and a second chariot filled with pagan deities, followed. Then came the four chariots of the grand masquers. These chariots were in the form of the triumphal cars of the Romans, and painted all over in brilliant colours, inlaid with silver. Each was drawn by four horses, abreast, covered to the wheels with coloured and silver tissue, and with huge plumes of red and white feathers on their heads and cruppers. In each chariot sat four grand masquers, chosen from the different inns of court, who were "handsome young gentlemen; their habits, doublets, trunk hose, and caps, were of the richest tissue, covered as thick with silver spangles as they could be placed; large white silk stockings up to their trunk hose, and very fine sprigs on their caps. On each side of the chariot were four footmen, in liveries of the colour of the chariot, carrying large flambeaus, which gave such

a lustre to the paintings, and spangles and habits, that hardly any thing could be invented to appear more glorious." The number of spectators was immense; and the banqueting house was so crowded "with fine ladies, glittering with rich clothes and fairer jewels, and with lords and gentlemen of great quality, that there was scarce room for the king and queen to enter." Their majesties, who stood at a window to see the masque come by, were "so delighted with the noble beauty of it," that they sent to the marshal to desire that the whole show might fetch a turn about the Tilt-yard, that they might see it a second time. The masquers then alighted, and were conducted to several apartments prepared for their entertainment. The queen joined in the dance with some of the masquers; and the great ladies of the court were very free and civil in dancing with all of them. The revelry was kept up till it was almost morning, when their majesties having retired, the masquers and inns-of-court gentlemen were brought to a stately banquet; and after that was dispersed, every one retired to their own quarters."

No pageant was ever before celebrated in England that exceeded this in magnificence. The total expense of it, which was borne by the societies and the individual members, was reckoned to be not less than 21,000*l*. Among the grave personages who had a share in the devising and arranging of it, we observe, besides Whitelocke and Noy, the names of John Selden, Sir Edward Herbert, Edward Hyde, Sir John Finch, &c.

Whitelocke says, the "airs, lessons, and songs,"

for the masque, "were composed by the celebrated Lawes; and the music was so performed, that it excelled any music that ever before that time had been held in England." The masque was also "incomparably performed in the dancing, speeches, music, and scenes,—none failed in their parts; and the scenes were most curious and costly."

The queen was so delighted with the spectacle, that she expressed a wish to have it repeated; and a hint of this being given to the lord mayor, he invited the king and queen, and the inns-of-court masquers to an entertainment in Merchant Taylors' hall; and "on this occasion, they came in procession into the city, in exactly the same order and with equal splendour and applause as at Whitehall."

How different is the aspect of the inns of court at the present day, from that which they must have exhibited at the times of which we have been speaking. How quiet and still those squares and terraces where formerly mirth and revelry held their court! And yet no mark of desertion or desolation is there. The grass groweth not under your feet; neither doth the fox look forth from the casement in solitary sadness. It is the stillness of busy occupation or of meditative indolence which you witness. Your steps have led you where study, and consultation, and research, and rousing, have their chambers. The change is honourable to the age; and one among many striking proofs of the advancement we have made in morals and refinement.

THE TEMPLE.

On the spot now occupied by Southampton-buildings, on the south side of Holborn, there anciently stood a preceptory of Knights Templars, called the Old Temple. When this order so far emerged from that primitive state of poverty, which was indicated by the emblem on their seal of two men riding on one horse, as to be worth some fifteen thousand manors; they purchased all that part of the banks of the Thames, extending from Whitefriars to Essex-street, and erected on it a large and magnificent edifice, which received the name of the New Temple. Here, from the spaciousness of its halls, parliaments and general councils were frequently held; and here, also, as a place of superior safety, the jewels of the crown were kept, and persons of wealth deposited their treasures.

On the suppression of the Knights Templars, Edward II. gave the greater part of their possessions in London to his uncle, Thomas Plantagenet, earl of Lancaster. From this grant there was a part excepted, called the Outer Temple, from being without Temple Bar, which was assigned to the bishops of Exeter, for the purpose of a town-residence, and took hence the name of Exeter Inn and Exeter House; till coming into the possession of Elizabeth's ill-fated favourite the Earl of Essex, the name was changed to Essex House. On the attainder of the Earl of Lancaster, his portion of the Temple property was given for life to Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, and at his death was transferred to the favourite, Hugh le

Déspenser the younger, who becoming also attainted, the property reverted once more to the crown. The great council of Vienna having about this period directed, that the possessions of the templars should be transferred to the knights hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, Edward III. presented the Temple to that order, who shortly after granted a lease of it, for 10*l.* per annum, to certain students of the common law, who removed thither from Thavie's-inn, Holborn. The Temple became after this one of the most celebrated schools of law in England. In the 4th of Richard II. the number of students had so much increased, that they divided into two societies; the one was denominated the Inner and the other the Middle Temple, from the situation of their respective allotments of the Temple property. The *Outer Temple*, as we have before mentioned, had been assigned to the bishops of Exeter. The fraternity continued to hold as tenants of the knights hospitallers, till the general dissolution of religious houses in the reign of Henry the Eighth, when the property once more fell to the crown. The templars were not, however, disturbed in the possession, but allowed to remain on a similar tenure for three successive reigns. At length, King James, by letters patent, dated August 13, 1609, made an absolute conveyance of the Inner and Middle Temple, with their respective precincts and appendages, to the treasurers, benchers, &c. of these houses and their assigns for ever, for the "lodging, reception, and education of the professors and students of the laws of this realm," each house "yielding and paying" to the crown 10*l.* yearly.

In the course of time the original buildings of the

Knights Templars have all disappeared, and in their place numerous ranges of lofty buildings, laid out in courts and terraces, have arisen; and every floor of these buildings forms one or more sets of chambers, occupied by different tenants.

The societies of the Inner and Middle Temple consist each of a treasurer chosen annually, a senior order of barristers called benchers, barristers generally, students, and a variety of inferior officers. The chief executive authority is vested in the treasurer, who has the power of admitting or rejecting students, of accepting or refusing tenants for the chambers; of recovering and paying away all monies; and generally of doing every thing which is of instant necessity, in the direction of the society's affairs. All matters of higher concern, or of a legislative nature, are determined in what are called parliaments of the society, which are usually held twice every term. Of old, no student could be called to the bar before he had been examined as to his learning and abilities by the whole body of benchers, and had performed various grand and petty mootings; but now these ceremonies are dispensed with, and any student who has attended commons for a stated number of terms in the course of five years, is entitled to demand a call to the bar. The benchers, however, still retain the power of refusing the call to any student, against whom they may conceive a prejudice, and in some instances are supposed to have exercised this right rather invidiously. At commons, there are three degrees of tables, one for the benchers, a second for barristers, and a third for students. Formerly they cut their meat on slices of

bread like coalheavers, and drunk out of wooden trenchers and green earthen jugs.

Members of these societies, though required to attend at commons, need not be resident; and many of those by whom the chambers are occupied are solicitors and private gentlemen, who have no connection with either of the houses.

The *Inner Temple* is of somewhat greater eminence than its fellow society. The members of it were of old distinguished by the title of the "*Inner Temple bon pleaders*." Its property and jurisdiction extend over King's Bench Walk, Tanfield-court, Church-yard-court, Figtree-court, and Crown-Office row. King's Bench Walk is a spacious oblong square, at the lower end of which is the Record Office of the Court of King's Bench, which has been built apart from the other buildings, in order to secure it the better from accidents by fire. The chambers on the west side of the square, in what are called the Paper Buildings, are particularly prized from their proximity to the Temple Garden, a large green parterre by the river side, surrounded with gravel walks, and shrubs, flowers, and trees. It was in this garden, according to Shakspeare, that those unhappy badges of distinction, the *white* and *red rose*, originated.

———"The brawl to-day,

Grown to this faction in the Temple garden,
Shall send between the red rose and the white,
A thousand souls to death and deadly night."

Henry VI.

Fronting the gate into this garden is the Inner Temple hall, an irregular structure, but of pleasant appearance. Its foundations were laid in the reign

of Edward the Third, but it has gone through so many repairs and renovations since that period, that it retains scarcely any feature of antiquity.

A curious story is told of the dial-plate of the clock in the turret. When the painter had finished the figures, &c. he waited on the benchman, who had the superintendence of the business respecting the motto that should be inscribed on the dial. The gentleman, who was absorbed in cogitation at the moment, angry at being disturbed, exclaimed, "Begone about your business." The painter, struck by the aptness of these words to his purpose, went and inscribed them on the dial-plate, where they still remain to excite the smile of the passenger. The interior room is spacious and handsome, and ornamented with good portraits of Littleton and Coke, William and Mary, and an allegorical painting, by Thornhill, representing the story of Pegasus.

The emblem of the Society of the Inner Temple is a Pegasus; but their chief flight is thought to have been that which they made in assuming it. A kick from the hoof of the law produces usually something very different from hippocrene.

The library of the Inner Temple contains upwards of ten thousand books and manuscripts, and contains also a number of portraits of eminent personages, including, among others, George II. Queen Caroline, Lord Chancellor Hutton, and Lord Chancellor Harcourt.

The Middle Temple comprehends the following courts and buildings: New-court, Fountain (or Hall) court, Garden-court, Essex-court, Brick-court, Middle

Temple-lane, Elm-court, Pump (or Vine) court, Lamb-buildings, and part of Church-yard-court.

The hall of the Middle Temple exceeds that of any of the other inns of court, in size and magnificence. It is one hundred feet long, forty-four feet wide, and upwards of sixty feet high. A beautiful screen of oaken timber, most elaborately carved, separates the entrance passage from the dining room or hall. The roof, which is also of oak, is remarkable for the singularity and skilfulness of its construction. At the south-west end there is an immense large window of painted glass, in which the coats of arms of upwards of thirty illustrious families are very finely emblazoned. All the other windows of the hall abound in similar ornaments. Along the cornice of the wainscoting, which reaches as high as the windows, there are busts of the twelve Cæsars, in imitation of bronze. The room contains also an admirable full-length portrait of Charles I. on horseback, supposed to be by Vandyke; a good painting of the Judgement of Solomon: and portraits of Charles II. Queen Anne, George I. and George II. Over the screen there is an elegant music gallery, above which hang suspended a number of helmets, shields, breast plates, and other pieces of armour, which belonged of old to Knights Templars.

The library of the Middle Temple is of little value, and no care seems taken to make it of more. It was founded in 1641, by Robert Ashley, esq. who not only bequeathed his own library for that purpose, but left an endowment for a librarian. It is somewhat remarkable, considering the influence which English lawyers have long had in the legislature of their

country, that they did not have their own libraries included among those to which, by the act of Queen Anne, for the protection of literary property, copies of new books are required to be presented. Was it indifference, or disinterestedness, which led to the omission? From whatever cause it arose, it is much to be regretted. The English bar could not have been denied what was actually conceded to the Scotch, which by this means chiefly has acquired one of the largest and most valuable collections of books in the kingdom.

The *Temple church* is a place of worship common to both the Societies. It was founded in 1185, by the Knights Templars, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary; but is supposed to have been rebuilt about 1240. It has all the massiveness of the gothic style, but is neatly ornamented, and contains some interesting monuments. The most remarkable of these are the tombs of eleven Knights Templars, with likenesses of them, sculptured in a style very spirited and picturesque. One of the knights is supposed to have been the brave Plantagenet, third son of Henry III. Among the more modern monuments, which fix the attention of the lettered visitor, are those of Howel, the author of the *Letters*, and the ingenious and profound *Selden*. In this church lie also interred, but undistinguished by any memorial, the remains of Sir Edmund Saunders, who, from being a strolling beggar about the inns of court, without friends or relations, became lord chief justice of the King's-Bench. Here too rests in lowly obscurity, without inscription to mark the spot, the once

lofty and redoubtable Lord Chancellor Thurlow. One perhaps superior to them all in true greatness, lies without the walls,—a “ Traveller,” a “ Citizen of the World,” the admired, beloved, and lamented Oliver Goldsmith.

The ministers of the Temple church hold the living by patent from the crown, and are styled masters of the Temple. The right of presentation, however, rests virtually in the benchers of the two houses, whose nomination the crown is accustomed to respect. The revenue of the incumbent consists chiefly of the rent of certain chambers which have been appropriated to his maintenance.

LINCOLN'S INN.

As an inn-of-court, Lincoln's Inn is next in rank to the Temple, which it surpasses in the number of distinguished lawyers it has produced. Of these it may be sufficient to mention Sir John Fortescue, one of the fathers of English law, who held the great seal under Henry the Sixth; that virtuous chancellor, Sir Thomas More; the learned antiquary, Sir Henry Spelman; that pious judge, Sir Matthew Hale; lord chancellor Egerton, &c. Prynne, the memorable victim of Star Chamber tyranny, was also a member of this society. For an alleged libel in the “ *Histriomastix*,” he was condemned by that infamous court, to pay a fine of 5000*l.*, to lose his ears in the pillory, and to be imprisoned for life: nor did the odious verdict terminate here, for the chamber, assuming a jurisdiction coequal with its vindictiveness, ordered Prynne to be expelled

from the university of Oxford, and the society of Lincoln's Inn.

At what time students were first admitted at Lincoln's Inn seems doubtful. Malcolm, on the authority of an old MS. which terms Lincoln's Inn, "an ancient ally unto the Middle Temple," says, "there is no memory of any flourishing estate of the students and professors of the common law resident in this college till the reign of Henry VI., when it appears, by rolls and remembrance of that house, the same then began to be famous."

Lincoln's Inn is situated on the west side of Chancery-lane; a portion of its site was anciently occupied by the church and house of a body of preaching friars, who came to England in the year 1221. These friars, who at first were thirteen in number, and had for their prior, Gilbert de Fraxineto, met with much encouragement in England. Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, who died in 1252, and was buried in their church, left them his house in Westminster, which was nothing less than the ancient Whitehall, or York House. The friars sold it to the Archbishop of York, who left it to his successor in the see. Hence it was called York House, or York Place, until the year 1529, when Henry VIII. took it from Cardinal Wolsey, and gave it the name of Whitehall.

In the year 1250, the friars of this order had a grand convocation at their house, to the number of four hundred; and having no possessions of their own, they entreated maintenance by alms. On the first day of their meeting, Henry III. attended their chapter, and participated in a dinner which he had

provided. Afterwards the queen did the same ; and the royal example was followed by the bishops of London, the abbots of Westminster, St. Alban's, Waltham, and others. Here the friar preachers continued until the year 1276, when Gregory Rokeslie the mayor, and the barons of London, gave them a piece of ground near Baynard's-castle, and the ruins of Mountfichet, to build a new church, which was afterwards known by the name of Black-friars.

The principal property of the old friar house belonged to William de Haverhall, who was treasurer to King Henry III. ; but on his attainder for high treason, his mansion and lands devolved on that monarch, who gave a plot of ground to Ralph de Nova Villa, or Neville, then lord chancellor, and bishop of Chichester, who built a large house, and lived in it, until his death, in 1244. It next became the residence of Richard de Wihte, and afterwards fell to Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, to whom Edward the First presented the Old Friar House. The Earl of Lincoln made it his residence, and hence it was called his Inn, or Lincoln's Inn, according to the literal meaning of the word and the usage of the period, when an inn meant a lodging, or house in general.

This Earl of Lincoln is said to have introduced students here in 1310 ; but as he died in that year, it is probable that students had been admitted before that period.

By some means, which none of our historians explain, the bishops of Chester again became the proprietors of Lincoln's Inn, and continued so until the beginning of the 16th century ; when Robert Sher-

born, bishop of that see, conveyed it to a student of the house, of the name of William Sulyard, or Syliard, for a term of 99 years. This grant was confirmed in 1536, by a subsequent bishop of Chester, in a deed which conveyed the house and lands to the said William Sulyard and his brother Eustace. In 1579, the surviving son of Eustace conveyed the whole to Richard Kingsmill and the rest of the benchers, for the sum of 520*l*.

The most ancient part of the present Lincoln's Inn is the hall, which is now, by permission of the benchers, used for the sittings of the lord high chancellor. It was erected by Sir Thomas Lovell, one of the benchers, in 1506. It is a lofty room, sixty-two feet long, and thirty-two broad; it is very plain, and can neither boast the graces of architecture nor the embellishments of taste. It has more the appearance of the conservatory of a monastery, than the banquet hall of the lawyers of the nineteenth century. A picture by Hogarth, of Paul pleading before Felix, forms no inappropriate subject for the Court of Chancery, where the law's delay is proverbial, and the suitors are often eventually bid to "go their way for that time," when at a more convenient season they will be sent for. This picture was paid for by a legacy from Mr. Wyndham, in 1750.

The gate through which Lincoln's Inn is entered from Chancery-lane was also built by Sir Thomas Lovell, and finished in the year 1518. The gate-house and corner were completed three years afterwards. Over the gate are the arms of Lacy, earl of Lincoln, and Sir Thomas Lovell.

The chapel, which is on the east side of Lincoln's

Inn Old-square, as it is now termed, is a strong built structure by Inigo Jones, and displays many of the beauties and defects of that architect. It is raised on thick gothic arches, which are adorned with coats of arms and other figures carved on the stone, which is of beautiful and fine texture. There is thus formed a cloister, or open walk, under the chapel, where several persons who belonged to the inn have been interred. The interior of the chapel is neat, and the windows are enriched with the arms of several of the families connected with the inn, on stained glass; these are intermingled with numerous paintings on glass of scripture subjects. The chapel was finished in 1623, and consecrated at the Feast of the Ascension in that year, by the Bishop of London. In 1791, the chapel underwent considerable repairs, under the direction of Mr. Wyatt, when it received a new roof, and a window at the east end. In 1658, Henry Colfer, esq. left twelve pounds for a sermon to be preached here on the first Wednesday in every month; and in 1768, Dr. Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, who was preacher to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, founded a lecture to be delivered on the first Sunday after Michaelmas term, and the first before Hilary term, and the Sunday immediately after the close of the term. The lecture is fixed to be on the proofs of the truth of the Christian religion, from the completion of the prophecies in the Old and New Testament. Few men of much eminence have been buried in this chapel; but a plain stone in the cloisters under the chapel informs us, that "Here lies the body of John Thurlo, secretary of state to

the protector Oliver Cromwell, and a member of this society."

The New Square, Lincoln's Inn, is erected on a plot of ground which has been successively called Little Lincoln's Inn-field, Fickett's-field, and Serle's-court. The latter name it had from the first buildings having been commenced by Henry Serle, esq. one of the benchers of this society, who did not live to finish it. The three sides of this square are occupied exclusively by barristers and respectable solicitors; the fourth side is open to the garden, which is tastefully laid out, and very extensive. It is however to be regretted, that in a crowded city, where a blade of grass can scarcely be seen in a circumference of fifteen or twenty miles, with the exception of the gardens attached to the inns of court, that they should be locked up from the public. The wall and terrace which separate this garden from Lincoln's Inn-fields, were raised about the year 1663, at an expense of 1,000*l*. In the early part of the last century, a Mr. Wheedon proposed to erect a beautiful range of buildings on the east side of the gardens. The plan was, that they should be only one story high, and be without chimneys, but it did not meet with encouragement.

In the centre of the New Square, Lincoln's Inn, there was formerly a fountain, consisting of a Corinthian column by Inigo Jones; but among the changes that take place in the course of time, the fountain has been converted into a gas-light column.

Stone-buildings, a name given to them on account of the material of which they are built, form a noble

row of large houses, which let at very high rents ; it is by no means uncommon for a set of chambers to be sold for between 2000*l.* and 3000*l.* Stone buildings form the first part of a plan for rebuilding the whole of Lincoln's Inn, according to a design by Sir Robert Taylor. The plan, however, seems to be broken in upon by the recent erection of the Vice Chancellor's Court, which, whatever may be its utility, possesses no architectural attractions.

The library of the society is kept on the ground floor of Stone-buildings. It contains upwards of eight thousand volumes, independent of a collection of MSS. made by Sir Matthew Hale. The library is of as little use as the garden. It is open but four hours a day, from ten to two o'clock, and that only to the members of the society. As to the MSS. they can only be viewed by a special order from one of the benchers.

GRAY'S INN.

The name of this inn of court is derived from the noble family of the Gray's, who in the reign of Edward III. conveyed the ground on which it has been erected, and which formed part of the manor of Portpool, (ignobly commemorated in Portpool-lane), to a society of students at law. The domain of this society extends over a large extent of ground between Holborn and Theobald's road ; it has a spacious square, and still more spacious garden, well laid out, and shaded with lofty trees ; but the approaches on all sides are mean, and the buildings, if we except a new pile called Verulam-buildings, are of a very ordinary

description. The hall, the chapel, the library, all rival each other in architectural commonness. A former writer, in describing the chapel, could find no more to say of it than, that it consists of four walls with several windows large and small ; it is, however, rich in good books in all languages and sciences, to which the students have very ready access.

In its government, rules, and practice, this society is similar to the other principal inns of court.

SERGEANTS' INN.

According to Sir Edward Coke, the order of sergeants at law is upwards of eleven hundred years standing. We find mention made of them in a statute of the 3d of Edward I. In the reign of Henry VIII. they were so numerous, that twenty-eight of them received at one time the honour of knighthood ; and yet, in the following reign, the number had been so much diminished, by various casualties, that Sergeant Benlowes described himself *solus serviens ad legem*.

The degree of sergeant is the highest taken at the common law, as that of doctor is of the civil law, The call to it is by royal mandate, issued on the recommendation of the judges. The Court of Common Pleas is their peculiar sphere of practice ; but they may and do plead in any of the courts. The judges are always selected from this body, the members of which they continue to distinguish by the friendly appellation of *brothers*.

When a barrister is raised to the rank of a sergeant, he is sworn at the Chancery bar, to "well and truly serve the king's people; truly to counsel them after their cunning; not to defer or delay their causes willingly, for covet of money or other thing that may turn to their profit; and to give due attendance accordingly."

It was in ancient times customary for the whole body of sergeants to proceed, on the day following the swearing in of a brother, in public procession to Westminster Hall, in order to present him to the judges of the different courts. "And having had their coifs of white linen or silk put on without any black ones over, and being clothed in robes of two colours, they walked to Westminster Hall, accompanied by a great number of gentlemen of the long robe, of several houses of court and chancery, the warden of the Fleet, Marshal, &c.; and attended by clerks, two of each sergeants, immediately following him, &c.; also, by the stewards, butlers, and other servants to the houses, all bareheaded and clothed in short party-coloured vestments." On the appearance of the new sergeant, the judges were wont to exclaim, "Me-thinks I see a brother." The brother presented a ring, with his motto engraven on it, to each of their lordships, in token of his union to the fraternity. All the other sergeants had also rings given to them. When this ceremony was finished, the brotherhood returned sometimes to Ely House, at others to the Middle Temple Hall, where a grand feast was given on the occasion, to which the most distinguished personages in the state were invited. From the description of an entertainment of this sort, given in 1531,

at Ely House, they appear to have been at times of extraordinary magnificence. The feasting, on this occasion, continued from Friday the 10th of November, till the following Tuesday. "On Monday, King Henry and Queen Catherine of Arragon dined there in separate chambers, and the foreign ambassadors occupied a third apartment. In the great hall, Sir Nicholas Lombard, mayor of London, the judges, barons of the Exchequer, and the aldermen, presided at the king's table. On the south side sat the master of the Rolls, the masters in Chancery, and worshipful citizens. The north side of the hall was occupied by aldermen appointed to sit at the head, the rest filled by respectable merchants. In the cloisters, chapel, and gallery, were placed knights and gentlemen of lesser degree. The crafts of London were in the other halls; whilst the sergeants and their ladies were in chambers appointed for their reception. The quantity of provision, on the occasion, resembled that for a coronation feast."

The presentation of the rings, and perhaps a private merry-making, among the fraternity themselves, are now the only relics of these showy and expensive customs.

Sergeants' Inn, situated at the bottom of Chancery-lane, consists of two courts, of rather mean appearance. As formerly observed, it was anciently called Faryngdon's Inn; after the same person who gave name to the ward, in which it is situated. The hall is neat and commodious; and its windows filled with the armorial bearings of various members of the fraternity.

CLIFFORD'S INN.

Adjoining Sergeants' Inn, is Clifford's Inn, so called, from its original owners, the noble family of Clifford. About 1337, the widow of Robert de Clifford demised it to a society of students in the common law. None of the other inns of court can shew a title so ancient. The inn has two courts and a small garden; and is under the government of a principal and twelve rulers. The hall is a plain gothic structure, with windows emblazoned with armorial bearings.

CLEMENT'S INN.

"I was of Clement's once myself," says Justice Shallow, "where they talk of mad Shallow still."

It appears to have been, from an early period, one of the most eminent of the minor schools of law, or inns of chancery. There are traces of its existence as far back as 1478. It is supposed to have derived its name from a spring of water in the vicinity, called St. Clement's well, now covered with a pump, which had of old the reputation of curing a variety of disorders, and was much resorted to by the credulous. The society of this inn is governed by a principal and fourteen ancients. The hall is a handsome room, and ornamented with a good portrait of Sir Matthew Hale. In the centre of the garden there is a statue of a naked Moor, supporting a sun-dial, which was presented to the society by Holles Lord Clare, from whose family they derive their title to the inn and

its appurtenances. The figure is extremely well sculptured, but the position of it has been censured as "cruel and unnatural," constantly exciting "the commiseration of the passenger," for "the poor sable son of woe." According to the same standard of criticism, people should be melted to tears at seeing Old Father Thames exposed night and day in the court of Somerset-house, alike unsheltered from the wintry winds and summer heats. The Moor, like the god of the river, is but an allegorical personage ; and many a worse allegory is to be seen in London, than a child of the sun supporting a sun-dial.

NEW INN.

On the site now occupied by New Inn, there anciently stood a common hostery or inn, known by the sign of the Blessed Virgin. In 1485 it was converted into an inn of chancery by Sir John Fineux, lord chief justice, and attached to the Middle Temple. On the demolition by the protector Somerset, of Chester's Inn, which stood on the site of the present Sea-coal-lane, on the south side of the Strand in order to make way for Somerset-house, the students incorporated themselves with those of New Inn. The society is governed by a treasurer and twelve ancients. It boasts the honour of having educated the great Sir Thomas More, who studied here previous to entering himself of Lincoln's Inn.

LYON'S INN.

In Holywell-street, opposite to the New Inn, there is another called Lyon's Inn, which is an appendage

to the Inner Temple. It has a handsome hall, but the other buildings are insignificant.

STAPLES' INN.

The merchants of England were formerly obliged to exhibit for sale their wool, cloth, tin, and other *staple* commodities, in certain public places appointed for that purpose. Staples' Inn, in Holborn, was one of these, and therefore so named. As early as 1415 it had been converted into an inn of chancery, dependent on Gray's Inn. It is divided into two courts, and has a pleasant garden; the hall is a small but handsome structure, and ornamented in the interior with portraits of Charles II., Queen Anne, Earl of Macclesfield, Lord Chancellor Cowper, and Lord Camden. The inn is under the government of one principal and eleven ancients.

FURNIVAL'S INN.

The lords of Furnival, who make a conspicuous figure in our military history, from the warlike days of Richard Cœur de Lion to those of the Black Prince, possessed on the north side of Holborn a splendid city residence, which went by the family name. In the reign of Richard II. the family became extinct in the male line, and Furnival's Inn fell by marriage into the possession of the earls of Shrewsbury, with whom it remained till the reign of Edward VI. Francis, the then earl, in consideration of 120*l.*, sold the premises to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and that society converted them into a separate inn of court, holding of Lincoln's for payment of 3*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* yearly.

The buildings having fallen into a state of great decay, they were lately entirely removed, and on the site, which is of considerable extent, a new court of chambers has been erected, which yields in elegance to none of the other inns of court. The Society of Furnival's Inn is governed by a principal and twelve ancients.

BARNARD'S INN.

The executors of Dr. John Mackworth, who was dean of Lincoln in the reign of Henry VI. gave a house which he possessed in London, on the south side of Holborn, to the dean and chapter of Lincoln, on condition that they should find a priest, to perform divine service in the chapel of St. George, within the cathedral church of Lincoln, where the dean lies interred. Mackworth Inn, as it was then called, was afterwards leased by a gentleman of the name of Lionel Barnard, after whom it has ever since been called. It is styled in the records the *second* inn of Chancery, but is now among those which are of the least importance. The hall is worth visiting, on account of some good portraits which it contains, particularly one of that learned, upright, and intrepid judge, Sir John Holt.

THAVIE'S INN.

In 1348, John Thavie, or Tavie, left a mansion-house, which he possessed in the vicinity of St. Andrew's church, for the support of that fabric. In the reign of Edward VI. it had come into the possession

of Gregory Nicholls, who made a grant of it to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, by whom it was erected into an inn of chancery, on the condition of paying yearly, like Furnival's Inn, the sum of 3*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* as an acknowledgement to the mother house. Thavie's Inn has, however, long ceased to be in reality an inn of court; being converted into a range of private dwellings, and no longer under the government of any fellowship.

COLLEGE OF DOCTORS OF LAW.

The doctors of the civil, canon, and maritime laws, practising in the ecclesiastical and admiralty courts, have a college of their own, situated in Knight-Rider-street, usually called *Doctors' Commons*, from their communing together in a collegiate manner, as in the inns of court. At first the doctors resided in a mean house near Paternoster-row, which is now a tavern, known by the name of the Queen's Arms. Afterwards, Dr. Henry Harvey, dean of the Arches, purchased an old stone structure in Knight-Rider-street, held on lease by Lord Mountjoy, from the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, and fitted it up for the accommodation of the fraternity. Here they resided till its destruction by the great fire; when they removed to Essex-house, which they occupied till 1672, when the present commodious buildings were erected.

As yet, the members, though professionally associated together, were not legally incorporated; nor was it till 1768, that an act for this purpose was obtained.

The mode of admission is by fiat from the archbishop of Canterbury, addressed to the judges.

The college has a handsome hall, where the different courts in which its members officiate hold their sittings. The doctors or advocates sit on the same bench with the judge; and each has a particular seat assigned to him on his admission, which he always keeps.

The principal ecclesiastical court is the *Court of Arches*, said to be so called from its having been anciently held in the crypt of Bow church, which was originally built upon *arches*. The thirteen parishes in London, which are peculiars of the archbishop of Canterbury, are under the immediate jurisdiction of the judge of this court, who is hence styled the *Dean of the Arches*.

The *Prerogative Court* is guardian of the various rights of succession to property. It has a registry attached to it, in which all original wills are deposited; and grants letters of administration to executors and next of kin.

The *Office of Faculties and Dispensations* empowers any one to do that which in law he could not otherwise do; as, for instance, to marry without the publication of banns, to succeed a father in an ecclesiastical benefice, &c.

The *Court of Delegates* is the highest of all the ecclesiastical courts of the province of Canterbury. Appeals lie to it from any of the other courts, and the decisions are generally considered final. The king has it in his power, indeed, to grant a commission of review under the broad seal, but this is rarely exercised.

The *Court of Admiralty* takes cognizance of all offences on the high seas, questions relating to seamen's wages, right of salvage, &c. It was erected in the reign of King Edward III. and was originally held in Southwark. When the causes before it relate to offences committed at sea, it does not hold its sittings here, but at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey; and any barrister at common law may then plead before it.

The doctors of law have an excellent library attached to their college. The room is spacious and well stocked with books, especially in civil law and history. Every archbishop or bishop of the province of Canterbury, on being confirmed, makes a present to this library of at least 20*l.* for the purpose of purchasing new books. Sir John Gibson, a judge of the Prerogative Court, bequeathed to it the whole of his books.

HERALDS' COLLEGE.

The office of herald is one of very remote antiquity, and in English history is mentioned as early as the reign of Henry III. In days of chivalry, the principal employment of the herald was to carry messages of defiance, or proposals of peace, from one sovereign prince or chieftain to another; and there were few potent noblemen who had not heralds of their own. Even as late as the reign of Henry VIII. a herald at arms formed part of the establishment of the proud Cardinal Wolsey. In such high esteem was the office held, that the senior heralds were styled kings, and the sovereign himself invested them with the dignity

by pouring a gold cup of wine on their head, and proclaiming their style and title. In modern times it is still the herald's business to proclaim peace and war in our public places; but the enemy is left to find out by other means how boldly we defy him. The heralds too, when sworn into office, take the oaths on a sword as well as the book, to show that they are military as well as civil officers. The more usual occupation, however, of the herald of these days, is to superintend all the royal and state ceremonies, particularly the coronation of our sovereigns, and the installation of the knights of the different orders; to convey to foreign princes and invest them with the honours of this country; to record and emblazon the arms of the nobility and gentry, and to check all false assumptions in this respect. The Heralds' College has been hence termed the registry of "all the old blood in the kingdom;" though it is imputed to it, we know not how truly, that it is of some service to our children of fortune, by "furnishing them at any time" with a *quantum sufficit* of good blood, and enabling them to shut in the motley procession of gentility."

Richard III. first formed the heralds of England into a body corporate, and gave them for their college a "magnificent mansion," called Cold Harbour. In the reign of Henry VII. they were arbitrarily deprived of this mansion, and continued without any other place of residence till the accession of Queen Mary, who conveyed to them a manor on Bennet's-hill, called Derby House, which had been the town residence of the noble family of Stanley; "to the end," says the grant, "that the said kings at arms,

heralds, and pursuivants at arms, and their successors, might at their liking dwell together; and at meet times congregate, speak, confer, and agree among themselves, for the good government of their faculty, and that these records might be more safely kept," &c.

In the great fire of 1666 this house fell a prey to the flames; but fortunately all the records and books, except one or two, were saved and deposited in a room in Whitehall palace, from which they were afterwards removed to Westminster palace.

On the site of Derby house a new college was erected at the expense chiefly of the members themselves. Sir William Dugdale, so well known for his antiquarian lore, was one of the most liberal contributors. The structure which still subsists and is in good repair, though now about to be deserted, forms a handsome quadrangle, with a noble gateway and spacious court; the accommodations of the interior too are ample, for, besides a large court room and library, it contains houses for the residence of all the members of the college and their families. The place where it is situated is, however, not of easy access; and what is perhaps more germane to the matter, it is at too great a distance from the court, for an establishment which has to do solely with honours and pedigrees. It has been therefore determined, very recently, to erect a new edifice in the neighbourhood of Charing Cross.

The earl marshal of England is, in virtue of his office, superior of the College of Heraldry, and has the right of appointing the members of which it consists, namely, three kings at arms, six heralds at arms, and

four pursuivants at arms. They are installed into office by the earl marshal, and hold their places during their good behavior.

The kings are GARTER, CLARENCIEUX, and NORROY. Garter was instituted by Henry V., in the year 1417, for the service of the order of the garter, and is acknowledged as "Principal King at Arms." Clarencieux and Norroy are called "provincial kings at arms, the former having authority over all that part of England south of the Trent, and the latter over all the country to the north of that river. Clarencieux was so called from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III., who was the first invested with the dignity. Norroy is a corruption of North Roy or North King. The distinguishing colour of garter is blue; of the two provincial kings, purple.

The six heralds are styled of Windsor, Chester, Lancaster, Somerset, York, and Richmond, who rank according to seniority of appointment.

The four pursuivants are Rouge-croix, Blue-mantle, Rouge-dragon, and Portcullis. It is part of their duty to attend by rotation in the public office.

On the first Thursday of every month there is a meeting or chapter, of all the members of the college, in which heraldic matters are discussed, and questions are determined by a majority of voices, each king being allowed to have two.

According to the constitutions of the Herald's College, no person ought to be admitted of the society, who is not well educated and studious of heraldry, able to "trick" coats of arms, and to paint. Among other qualifications stated to have been possessed by one Anthony Hall, who was admitted a pursuivant in

1593, he is stated to have "had an apt inclination to gather gentlemen's coats (of arms,) as well on church windows, stone walls, as on noblemen's tombs, whereby he had collected from thirty thousand or more coats of his own tricking or writing;" besides which, he had a pretty skill in counterfeiting pictures after the life or otherwise. "The college has numbered among its members some names of great antiquarian eminence, such as Dugdale, Segar, Ashmole, Anstis, &c.

The library of the college is extremely valuable. It consists of a large collection of original visitations, and records of the pedigrees and arms of families; funeral certificates; forms of ceremonial; and all the finest published works relating to the history and antiquities of the kingdom.

The salaries of the different officers are of small amount, but their fees and perquisites are considerable. On taking the order of the garter to foreign princes, they are generally rewarded by handsome presents. When Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, was invested with our order of the Garter, the decoration sent to him was enriched with no less than four hundred and ninety eight diamonds, and his majesty is said to have shewn a corresponding munificence in the present which he made to garter king at arms on the occasion. The history of this George and Garter is curious. On the death of the Swedish king, who wore it in the field on the day in which he fell, the decoration was, in pursuance of the statutes of the order, returned to this country; and by command of Charles the First, committed to the custody of the dean and chapter of Windsor, to be laid up in

their treasury, "for a perpetual memorial of that renowned monarch." On the establishment of the Commonwealth, Dr. Wren, who was then dean of Windsor, in order to preserve them from falling into the hands of the republicans, buried them under the floor of the treasury, and placed in the hands of a trusty friend, a sealed note intimating where they might be found, in the event of his decease. Here they lay concealed till 1645, when they were discovered by Cornelius Holland, a regicide, and sold among the other crown jewels.

THE ROLLS.

The master of the Rolls is *ex officio* lord of one of the pleasantest domains within the scope of a lawyer's ambition. It is a liberty of itself, exempt from the power of the sheriff of Middlesex, and of every other officer, except with leave of the master. Here he has a splendid house to reside in, from which he can pass into the court where he officiates, as from one room into another; and behind it there is a large garden, where, in the midst of a crowded city, he may enjoy something of the pleasures of rural retirement. Here also he has a chapel of his own, the minister of which is of his own nomination.

The Liberty was anciently the site of an Asylum for converted Jews, established and endowed by Henry III. For a time it was crowded with pretended converts; but after the universal expulsion of the sons of Israel from England, in the 18th of Edward III. there were so few claimants for the sweets of apostacy, that, in 1377, the king assigned the house and precincts to the first master in Chancery

for the time being, as a place for the preservation of the Rolls in Chancery, whence it took the name of the **ROLLS CHAPEL**.

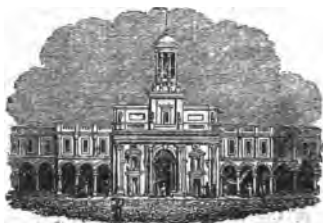
The master has a clerk and other officers under him, who take care of the rolls, and attend at suitable hours for the purpose of making searches for those who wish to consult them.

The chapel is an ancient structure, of a mixed character, and is supposed to have been designed by Inigo Jones. It contains several monuments to the memory of persons who have filled the office of master; one by Torregiano, in honour of Dr. Yong, who died in 1616, is particularly admired.

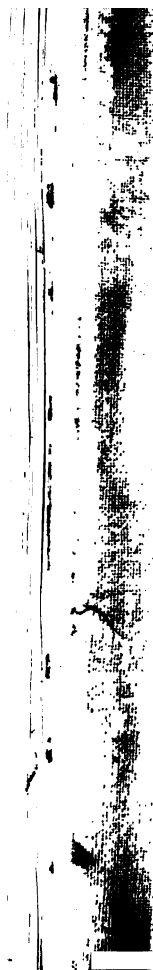
In 1717, Sir Joseph Jekyll, on being appointed master, found the houses belonging to the Liberty in so ruinous a condition, that he was induced to rebuild no less than thirty-nine of them at his own expense; although, by an act of parliament, the master is restrained from granting leases for a longer period than forty-one years. The cost of these erections was not less than 30,000*l*. When the first plans and estimates were laid before Sir Joseph, he inquired how long the houses, if erected according to these estimates, would stand? The surveyors answered, that they would stand out the forty-one years at least. Sir Joseph, much to his honour, replied, that "he would have them built as strong and as well as if they were his own inheritance." With this view he caused 360*l*. more to be expended on each house than was at first proposed.

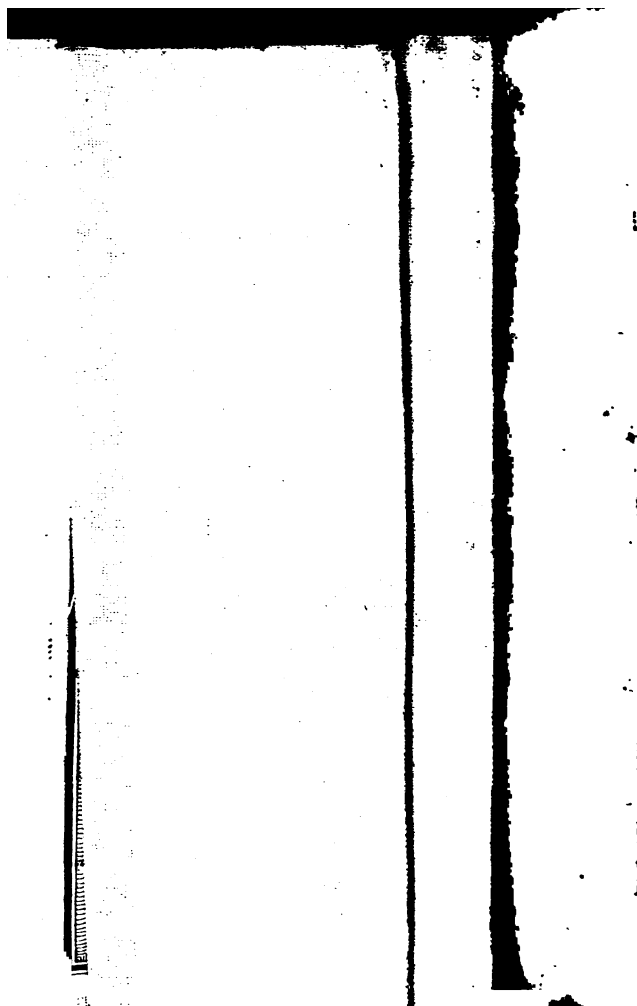
The total amount of the rents of houses in the Liberty of the Rolls, as charged to the poor rates some years ago, was 7,282*l*.

The master of the Rolls has the appointment of six clerks to the Court of Chancery, each of whom has fifteen assistants under him, called clerks of court. The office of the Six Clerks is a spacious stone building at the head of Chancery-lane, on the west side. Formerly they occupied an inn called Herflet Inn, belonging to the priors of Nocton's Park, opposite the Rolls Chapel. The revenue of these clerks, is derived almost entirely from fees for copies of proceedings in the Court of Chancery; nor has it been sufficiently attended to, when complaints have been made of the extravagance of these fees, that they were established rather as a mode of payment for most of the business transacted in the office, than as a recompence for the copies themselves. The six head clerks receive three-eighths of the proceeds, and the remaining five-eighths are divided among the under clerks. For the five years preceding 1811, the average amount of the three-eighths was 3,288*l*. which, divided among the six clerks, yielded an income to each of little more than 500*l*.



Royal Exchange.





PERCY HISTORIES.

Interesting Memorials

**OF THE
RISE, PROGRESS, & PRESENT STATE**

**of all
THE CAPITALS OF EUROPE.**

SHOLTO AND REUBEN PERCY,

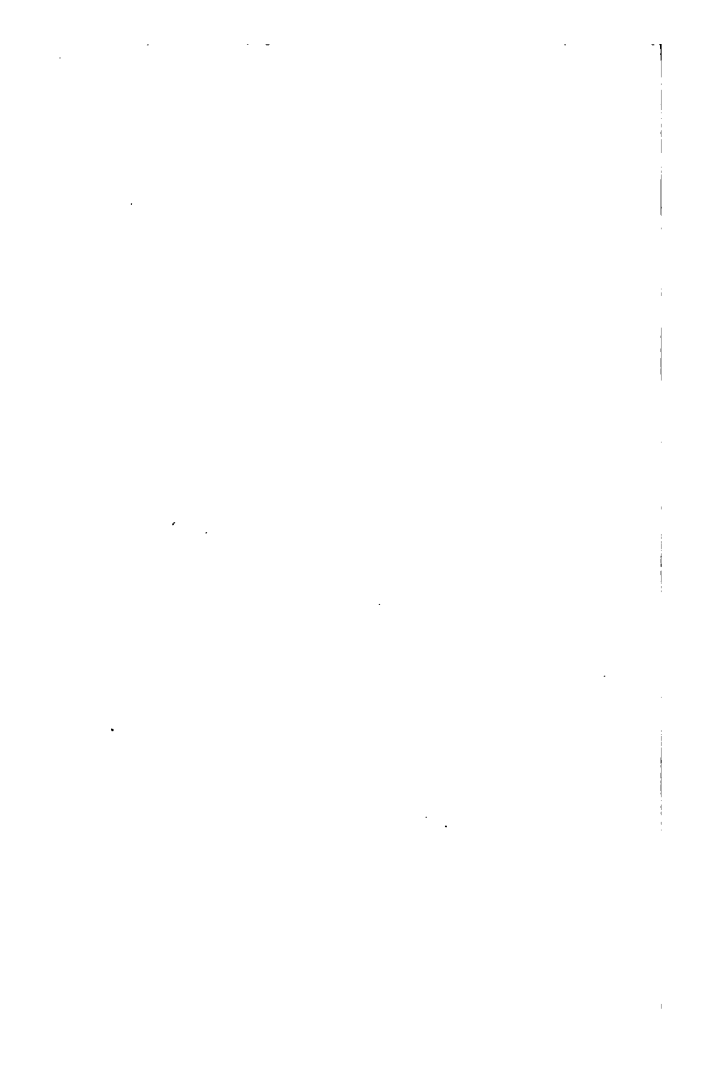
**Brothers of the Benedictine Monastery,
MONT BENER.**



LONDON;

Printed for T. BOYS, Ludgate Hill,

1823.



The Percy Histories.

LONDON.

This City is honoured with her men, graced with her arms, and
peopled with a multitude of inhabitants.

Fitasteph

MILITARY DEFENCE.

THE spirit of freedom was never yet preserved long amongst a people, unless accompanied by a large share of military renown. In London, the two have been united from a very early period of our history. The Britons were trained to the use of arms from their infancy, and their very diversions were of a warlike cast. As far back as the reign of Alfred, the citizens of London were so imbued with the national spirit, that they were known amongst their fellow countrymen by the name of "the brave Londoners." When the patriot king was opposing a great body of the East Anglian Danes, who had thrown off his authority, and landed in the west of England from the north; the English army left London, accompanied by a body of citizens, attacked the Danes under Hastings who had fortified Bamflete, overpowered the garrison, and

contended for the crown of England against Henry III. in the year 1216, the city of London sent him six hundred knights and 60,000 coats of mail.

In the time of Edward II. the queen having been refused admittance into Leeds Castle, in Kent, the king called to him "the commons of Essex and London," by whose assistance it was speedily reduced; but that this demand on the Londoners for military service might not be construed into an admission of their ordinary liability to such requisitions, the king, by his letters patent, declared "that the circumstance should not be prejudicial to them, nor drawn into precedent for time to come."

Another event which occurred shortly after, places the military independence of the citizens in a still stronger light. In 1326, when the queen had taken part with the barons, the king demanded from the citizens a supply of men and money. The answer they made was, that "they *would not* go out of their city to fight, except they might, according to *their liberties*, return home again the same day before the sunset."

During the French wars in the reign of Edward III., the quota of troops contributed by London was comparatively small. In 1346, they furnished only 100 men at arms, and 500 foot soldiers; and in 1355, 25 men at arms and 500 archers. Probably more were not required, for these wars were popular; and on the triumphal entry of the Black Prince into London with the king of France, we are told that the citizens "displayed with peculiar exultation from their windows and balconies, the implements and ornaments of war. "On the breaking out of Wat Tyler's rebellion in the ensuing reign, we have a re-

markable instance of the strength in which the citizens could instantly muster, on any emergency. After Wat Tyler had been struck dead by the hand of Sir William Walworth, and while the king was amusing the rebellious multitude, by affecting to fill their leader's place, Walworth rode into the city, calling out aloud for succour for the king, when immediately a thousand well armed men obeyed the summons; and being led forth in good array, spread such terror among the rebels, that they fled in all directions.

It is a singular fact, that very shortly after the Londoners had thus gallantly distinguished themselves, their courage should for the first time stand impeached in the page of history. When, in 1385, Charles II. of France made preparations to invade England, Stowe alleges that the Londoners "trembling like leverets, fearful as mice, seek starting holes to hide themselves in, even as if the citie were now to be taken and they that in times past boasted they would blow all the Frenchmen out of England, hearing now a vaine rumour of the enemies' coming, they run to the walls, break down the houses adjoining, destroy and lay them flat, and do all things in great fear, not one Frenchman yet having set foot on ship-board." "What would they have done," he adds, "if the battel had been at hand, and the weapons over their heads?" We think they would have done as they have done at all times, both before and since—defended themselves bravely. The sarcasms of Stowe seem in this instance to have been quite uncalled for. The fact, that they "ran to the walls, broke down the houses adjoining, destroyed and laid them flat;" is simply, that they cleared the walls, in order that they might be

in a fitter state for defence, which shows prudence, not fear. It was done besides in obedience to a positive order from the king. Froissart is supposed to afford some countenance to Stowe's aspersion, by remarking, that when the French expedition was abandoned, the citizens "with a joy unexpressible, began to regale themselves and friends in a most sumptuous manner." But is the invasion of our houses and firesides by a foreign enemy, so little to be cared for, that even brave men should not rejoice at its being relinquished?

During the contest between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, the military defence of the capital became an object of great importance, and appears to have been duly appreciated. When the leaders of each party met in London in 1458, attended by a great number of their followers, in order to attempt a reconciliation, Sir Godfrey Boleyn, the lord mayor, kept watch daily with a guard of 5000 citizens completely armed; while three aldermen, with another body of 2000, continued the watch during the night.

The conduct of the citizens in the subsequent affairs of Jack Cade and Falconbridge, as before related, was such as shewed that they had lost nothing of their ancient spirit.

Henry VII. having been very partial to archery in his youth, gave it every encouragement when he ascended the throne, in preference to the cross bow, although he sometimes amused himself with it, as we find by the following memoranda, in an account of his expenditure preserved in the Remembrancer's Office. "Lost to my Lord Morging, at the buttes, six shillings and eightpence," and "paid to Sir Edward Boroughe, thirteen shillings and fourpence, which the

kyng lost at buttes with his cross bow." From these entries it would appear that the king was not so skilful a bowman as his sons, particularly the eldest, Prince Arthur, who frequently exercised with the society of London bowmen at Mile End, and was so expert, that the captain, and every expert shooter, was called by his name.

The military art, and especially the practice of archery, continued to be cultivated as much as ever. At a general muster of "the most able men between the ages of sixteen and sixty," which took place twice by order of Henry VIII. in 1532; and again on the 8th of May, 1539, when there appeared no less than 15,000, "all in bright harness;"—"Most of the citizens of any quality or office," Strype says, "were clad in white satin or white silk coats, with chains of gold, and some had rich jewels." The king expressed himself highly pleased with their martial appearance.

From this period, archery, so long the pride and glory of the London citizens, fell into disuse, principally, no doubt, from the introduction of muskets. Hollinshed bewails, that in his time, we had "given over that kind of artillery," the long bow, in which, in times past, the chief force of England consisted; and Bishop Latimer equally laments the change that had taken place. In his sixth sermon, he says, "The art of shutynge hath been in tymes past much esteemed in this realme, it is a gyft of God, and he hath given us to excell all other nations wythall. It hath bene Godde's instrumente whereby he hath gyven us manye victories agaynste oure enemyes." He then points out the necessity of calling upon the Justices, and charg-

ing them "upon their allegiance, that thys singular benefit of God may be practised." That it had been practised, and that successfully, we learn by a fact recorded in the Journal of Edward VI., which shows the force with which arrows were discharged. A hundred archers belonging to the guard of this king shot at an inch board, singly, two arrows each, when some of the arrows pierced through the board, and entered another placed behind it, although the wood was extremely hard. At what distance the arrows were discharged, does not appear, but Père Daniel says, an ancient bow could carry four hundred yards, or nearly a quarter of a mile.

In the popular insurrection of the Kentish men, under Sir Thomas Wyatt, in the reign of Mary, the queen requested from the city an aid of five hundred footmen, well harnessed, to go against the rebels. It was immediately granted, the men were made ready the same night, and on the morrow marched into Kent. It soon appeared, however, that their ardour sprung from another source than attachment to the queen, for after joining the royal forces under the duke of Norfolk, the Londoners went over in a body to the rebels, and their example was followed by more than three parts of the army, not excepting the queen's guard itself. The city, notwithstanding, still held out for her majesty, but probably owing more to its being temporarily placed under the command of Lord William Howard, a devoted servant of the queen's, than to the loyalty of the citizens themselves, who participated largely in the discontent which Mary's marriage to Philip of Spain had excited. The order of the Mayor and Sheriffs to the citizens was curiously enough expres-

sed ; they were each " to be ready harnessed at their doors, what chance soever might happen."

A strong instance of the military character of the British in this reign is furnished by Etienne de Perlin, who, in a narrative of his tour through England in the year 1558, speaking of the Quarter Sessions, says, " The servants carry pointed bucklers, even those of bishops and prelates, and the men commonly exercise themselves with the bow. The husbandmen, when they till the ground, leave their bucklers and swords, or sometimes their bow, in the corner of the field, so that in this land every body bears arms."

In the second year of Elizabeth's reign, there was a muster of the citizens before her majesty, and the French and Imperial ambassadors in Greenwich Park ; but it seems from the comparatively small number assembled, to have consisted of some select companies only. There were " 1400 men, whereof 800 were pikemen, all in fine corselets, 400 barquebuts in shirts of mail with merins, and 200 halberdiers in almayne rivets ; they had to every hundred, two whiffers richly apparelled, and twelve wardens of the best companies, riding in coates of black velvet, to conduct them, with drums and fifes, and six ensigns, all in jerkins of white Bruges satin, cut and lined with black sarsnet, with caps, bozen, and skarfs according." The "*six ensigns*" here mentioned, seem to denote that the city had thus early made that sextuple division of its forces into the regiments of the blue, green, yellow, orange, white, and red, which subsisted till the recent introduction of the militia system.

When, in the year 1572, Elizabeth began to be disturbed in her government by machinations, foreign

and domestic, she sent an order to the lord mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, recommending to them renewed diligence in training up the young citizens to the use of arms for the defence of the capital ; and particularly to the use of musketry, which was now beginning to supersede the bow and arrow. The order was obeyed with so much alacrity, that, within two months after, a choice body of 3000 pikemen and gunners, completely armed and disciplined, mustered before the queen in Greenwich Park ; and these were independently of the city archers, who were estimated to amount to 4000 more.

The preparation in the ports of Spain of the boasted Armada, which was to effect the conquest of England and the re-establishment of popery, called for still greater exertions on the part of the loyal citizens of London. From a report of the arrangements made for the defence of the kingdom on that occasion, recently compiled from the records in the Tower, (printed, but not published,) it appears, that London then contained 20,696 able householders within the wards, besides 933 strangers fit for service ; and that of this number, no less than 10,000 were actually embodied.

Although the lords of the council ordered Edmund York, a brave officer, who had served in the Low Countries, to point out the best means of putting the city in a good state of defence, yet the Lord Mayor had the supreme command and authority to appoint colonels, captains, and other inferior officers under him. "Such an honour," says York, "and such a gracious favour, never happened to any people, neither was the like heretofore done unto them."

York recommended that the city should be divided into sections, containing 1500 men, "all inhabitants, which shall be either the householder, his sonne, or continued servant." Every night, at six o'clock, five companies of different regiments were to assemble in the Exchange, "and there stand in battell a quarter of an hour." After the countersign was given to every officer, says York, "a prayer for her majesty's estate and kingdome, and the Lord's prayer, shall be said." Five billets were next to be put into a hat, which the captains were to draw, to determine their respective stations for the night.

So much reliance had the queen upon the courage and attachment of the citizens, that she selected 9000 of them to be her body guard. The remaining 1000 were sent to the grand camp at Tilbury Fort.

The usual place of training the city bands at this period, was the old Artillery Garden or Ground, the site of which is commemorated by the names of several streets and lanes on the east side of Bishopsgate Street, as Artillery Street, Artillery Lane, Fort Street, &c. Five hundred of the most expert, who had "experience both abroad and at home," were selected to drill the rest, and we are told, that "very sufficient and skilful they were to train and teach common soldiers the managing of their muskets, pikes, and halberds, march, counter-march, and ring." These masters of the art military formed a company by themselves, of which "every man by turn bore orderly office, from the corporal to the captain." Some of these were sent to the camp at Tilbury, to assist in drilling the new levies, and were then known by the name of the captains of the Artillery Garden. Such was the rise of that

respectable body, still subsisting at the present day, the Artillery Company.

The military ardour which the Spanish Armada called forth, was succeeded by a long period of inglorious ease. The whole of the city corps were disembodied, and the exercises in the Artillery Garden entirely discontinued ; so that, when the queen wanted an aid of men from the city, to send to the relief of Calais in 1596, she was obliged to resort to the mode of impressment, and that in a way not attempted perhaps either before or since. On the forenoon of Easter Monday, the lord mayor and aldermen received orders to provide instantly, for the queen's service, a thousand able bodied men. The day and hour were conveniently chosen ; the churches, as is usual on this festival, were filled ; and thither the magistrates immediately repaired with their proper officers, made fast all the doors, and in a few minutes executed the required levy on the assembled congregations. "The men were forthwith furnished with armour, weapons, and all things necessary," and marched off to Dover before night. The system of pressing, though not in the same indecorous manner, was afterwards repeatedly resorted to during Elizabeth's reign.

A material change in the military exercises of the London citizens took place at the close of Elizabeth's reign, with which the use of the sword and buckler seems to have ended. Stowe relates that in his time, "the art of defence and use of weapons was taught by professed masters," and that the young Londoners, after the evening prayer on holidays, were permitted to exercise themselves with their wasters and bucklers before their masters' doors. The wasters here

mentioned, were swords with the flat part placed in the direction of the edge. Shakspeare and all the writers of his time mention schools for teaching the use of weapons as common in London ; but when the alarm of outward danger had been dissipated, and the pusillanimous reign of James had commenced, military exercises were naturally discountenanced by a king, who had an instinctive horror at the sight of a naked sword ; and who praised armour, rather because, as he said, it prevented the wearer from hurting others, than for the protection it gave him.

The danger which might arise from such an habitual neglect of military exercises, at length roused some patriotic spirits to exert themselves, to revive the ancient trainings in the Artillery Garden. In 1610, Philip Hudson, Lieutenant of the Artillery Company, and divers other gentlemen and citizens of London, considering the inconveniences which had been suffered by many "late populous and flourishing neighbour cities, principally by reason of their neglect of that most noble exercise of arms and martial discipline in times of wealth and peace ; they, like loving sons to so glorious a city," undertook, "at their own private or particular charge, a weekly exercise of arms and military discipline after the modern and best fashion, and construction then in use ;" and for their better ease and more convenience, "they erected a strong and well furnished armory in the said ground, in which are arms of several sorts ; and of such extraordinary fashion and goodness for service, as are hard to be matched elsewhere."

Four years after, James I. commanded a general muster of all the horse and foot soldiers throughout
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England ; and such was the progress which the citizens of London had by that time made in their military re-organization, that no less than 6000 of them assembled on the occasion. They were commanded by twenty captains selected of the most active and forward citizens, and unto every one of them were allotted 300 shot and pikes, being, for the most part, all householders, bravely furnished ; and such of them as were not formerly of the Martial Society, and practice of the Artillery Garden, became then admitted of that warlike company."

Although the reign of James continued to the last undisturbed by the din of war, the artillery company laudably persevered in their exercises, and rose into high reputation. We are told, that "many country gentlemen, from every shire, resorted to their ground, and diligently observed their exercise of arms, which they saw was excellent," and, on their return home, they "practised and used the same in disciplining the trained bands of their respective countries."

In 1638, the common council passed an order "that the trained bands should be made perfect in discipline, and that the greatest care should be taken, that low and indigent persons do not impose themselves as officers, but that they be selected from the most respectable gentlemen, and also from those who are capable and expert."

When the civil wars broke out in the reign of Charles the First, the *Trained Bands* of London, as they were then called, espoused the cause of the people, and are universally allowed to have contributed mainly to its ultimate triumph. After Charles made his rash attempt, in 1642, to seize on Pym,

Hampden, and the other obnoxious members of the house of commons, whom he had caused to be accused of high treason ; and when these champions of liberty took refuge in the city, and the grand committee of parliament itself was obliged to transfer its sittings to Guildhall, the trained bands placed themselves under the command of Major General Skippon, for the purpose of protecting them in the exercise of their parliamentary privileges.

The appeal to arms was at length made, and Charles advancing towards London, defeated Colonel Hollis's regiment at Brentford, and took possession of that town. Every possible exertion was then made to prevent his entrance into the capital ; "with unspeakable expedition," says Clarendon, "the army, under the Earl of Essex, was drawn together, and the trained bands of London led out, in their brightest equipage, upon the heath next Brentford, where they had, indeed, a full army of horse and foot, fit to have decided the title of a crown with an equal adversary." The parliamentary forces did not amount to less than 24,000 men, "stout, gallant, proper men, as well habited and armed, as were ever seen in any army, and seemed to be in as good courage to fight the enemy." "The good wives and others," says White-lock, "mindful of their husbands and friends, sent many cart loads of provisions, and wines, and good things to Turnham Green, with which the soldiers were refreshed and made merry ; and the more, when (after a short time) they understood that the king and all his army were retreated."

Next year the citizens not only repaired and strengthened their walls, but erected an outer line of

trenches and fortifications, which included the whole of the suburbs from the end of Shoreditch on the east, to Hyde Park Corner and Vauxhall on the west, and from the end of Kent Street, Deptford Road, on the south, to Bloomsbury on the north.

Nothing could exceed the ardour with which these fortifications were prosecuted. Thousands of men, women, and children, assisted by the train bands, and headed by several members of the common council, were constantly at work. The different trades went out in a body on alternate days, as appears by the statements in the "Diurnals," and other newspapers of the time. One day, between two and three thousand porters gave their labour, another day four or five thousand shoemakers left their gentle craft to assist in the new fortifications; and the tailors, to the number of six thousand, lent their willing and unsolicited aid to the same purpose. The fortifications consisted of a strong earthen rampart, planted with bastions and redoubts. The expense of these works was defrayed by a general levy on the inhabitants, and a loan of 60,000*l.* from the city companies.

The king's affairs taking for a time a prosperous turn, and the city of Gloucester, which had declared for the parliament, being hard pressed by his troops, great exertions were made to send the Earl of Essex with an army to its relief; and to encourage the recruiting, for this purpose, the London magistracy had recourse to the vigorous measures of ordering, that all shops, within their lines, should "be shut up, and continue so till Gloucester was relieved." The Londoners accordingly, besides furnishing two regiments of their trained bands, sent forth four auxiliary regi-

ments, three of foot and one of horse. The parliamentary army now marched towards Gloucester, but the king, hearing of their approach, raised the siege and advanced to meet them. The hostile forces met at Newbury, and in that sanguinary fight, (albeit they were but keepers of shops,) gave signal proof of their hereditary resolution and prowess. "The London trained bands and auxiliary regiments," (says Lord Clarendon,) "of whose inexperience of danger or any kind of service, beyond the easy practice of their postures in their artillery garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation, behaved themselves to wonder, and were, in truth, the preservation of that army that day; for they stood as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest, and when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily, that though Prince Rupert himself led up the choice horse to charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about."

In the subsequent affair at Cheriton Downs, the Londoners acquired fresh laurels. Two of their strongest auxiliary regiments fought under Sir William Waller, on that occasion, and, as Whitelock tells us, "did very brave service; they drove the enemy from the hedges, which they had lined with musketeers, and gained the passage to a wood, which stood the parliamentary forces in great stead, and shortly after put the enemy to a rout; which was so total, that scarcely ten of them were left together."

The city shortly after increased the number of troops they had in the field against the king to 8,400;

four regiments were under the Earl of Essex, and three under Sir William Waller.

The Londoners continued foremost in the struggle between the crown and the people, till the success of the latter was complete; but when the parliament and the army quarrelled, and Cromwell rose on the bucklers of the latter to supreme power, they fell into the back ground, and suffered but too many affronts and hardships at the hands of those, whom they had been the principal means of placing in the seat of royalty. The works about the city were ordered to be demolished; the trained bands were discharged; the treasuries of different city companies were robbed, in order to pay arrears due to Cromwell's soldiers; particularly that of the Weaver's Company, from which 20,000*l.* were carried off; and when these were found insufficient for the purpose, bands of these satellites were quartered on the city, not only in the inns, but in private houses, till the deficiency was made up.

During the quarrel between the army and the parliament, the services of the London trained bands were frequently called on to suppress those tumults which are common to a state of anarchy: nor were those of a political nature the most dangerous to the existing government. In April, 1648, a riot was begun in Moorfields, on account of the infraction of the parliamentary ordinance against tippling and gaming on the sabbath, which required all the energy of Fairfax to suppress. The first party of the trained bands sent to quell the tumult were overpowered by the rioters, who seized their arms, drums, and colours, and daringly beat up for recruits. A mob in a populous city, is like a

rolling snow ball, increasing as it proceeds ; and the rioters were soon so formidable, as to be enabled to act on the offensive. The prisons of Newgate and Ludgate were surprised during the night ; and next day they attempted to seize Whitehall, but were repelled by the soldiers. They, however, were more successful in the city, where they attacked the mansion house, and carried off a piece of artillery, called a *drake*. Ammunition was obtained from the magazine, in Leadenhall Street, where they made a stand against the only two regiments then in London, nor did they give way until several of them were wounded, and others taken prisoners.

When the question of the restoration came, after the death of Cromwell, to be agitated, the citizens had their revenge. The king's restorer, Monk, found them well disposed to second his views, and being appointed major general of their forces, he speedily re-embodied both the trained bands and auxiliary regiments, and, at a grand review in Hyde Park, appeared at the head of no less than 18,600 "brave Londoners," a greater force than the city had mustered for some centuries. It was composed of six regiments of trained bands, six auxiliary regiments, and one regiment of horse. The mere demonstration of such a force, on the order of royalty, at this juncture of affairs, was sufficient. The restoration immediately followed.

Very shortly after, the restored monarch issued a commission of lieutenancy for the city of London, which vested the commissioners with similar powers to those possessed by the lords lieutenant of counties. The city regiments were by them new modelled, and augmented, the foot to 20,000, and the horse to 800.

The insurrection of the *Fifth-monarchy men*, which took place in the following year, is justly regarded in history as an act of frenzy in a deluded few; but it deserves notice here, as a sort of frenzy which could only have happened in a community injured, as we have seen that of London was, to the use of arms. A body of not more than sixty men, but all well armed, sally forth from a meeting house in Swan Alley, Coleman Street, under the guidance of one Venner, their preacher, and a mad colonel of the name of Cox, to proclaim "King Jesus." They encounter a party of the trained bands, in the interest of "King Charles," led on by Sir Richard Brown, the lord mayor, and put them to the route. They march triumphantly up and down the city, kill a headborough by way of exercise, and then, learning that a body of horse is coming against them, retire for the night to Caen Wood, near Hampstead. Here they are attacked at break of morn; some of them are taken, and the rest dispersed. But next day they ally, return into the city, and fight a severe battle in Wood Street, with a body of regular horse and a party of the trained bands; two of their best men are slain, and Venner, the leader, wounded and made prisoner; the remainder, under Colonel Cox, retire fighting towards Crippllegate: a party of ten take post in a neighbouring ale house, and defend it with such resolution, that it is not carried before seven of them are killed; nor until twenty of the whole number, being at least more than the one half, and twice as many of their opponents, have apparently bit the dust.

The trained bands, "of whose inexperience in danger, or of any kind of service beyond the easy prac-

tice of the Artillery Garden," Clarendon says, "men had too cheap an estimation," were long the favorite force of the metropolis; and on every occasion, when their services were called upon, proved themselves worthy of the confidence of their fellow citizens. Previous to the civil war, as appears by a tract in the Harleian MSS., containing an account of their musters in 1643, their force, including auxiliaries, exceeded 18,000 men. This species of force, which was neglected during the Protectorate, was re-modelled by Charles II. and the trained bands alone augmented to 20,000 men.

As the restored government found itself secure, this force was reduced, and may be said to have been almost disorganized, when the rebellion of 1715 induced the government to issue an order for it to muster, and be in readiness to suppress any tumults that might arise. The trained bands were still nominally kept up, although six auxiliary regiments and some troops of horse were reduced.

The rebellion of 1745 again roused the military spirit of the metropolis: the trained bands were kept in readiness, and the militia embodied; two regiments were raised at the expense of the merchants, and corps of volunteers incorporated. The lawyers exchanged their briefs for muskets, and the judges their wigs for helmets; the weavers of Spitalfields laid aside their shuttle and distaff for the pike and the bayonet; and even the managers of the theatres offered to form a corps of "his majesty's servants," ready to quit the mimic combats of the stage for the tented field. Large subscriptions were raised for supplying the troops with the necessary clothing and the

munitions of war, towards which the corporation of the city gave 1,000*l.* and several of the city companies contributed liberally. Even the Quakers so far overcame their religious scruples, as to raise a considerable sum for the purchase of woollen waistcoats for the soldiers; and had the danger been more imminent, it is probable they might have been induced to go farther, and, like the Quakers of America at the commencement of the revolution, have subscribed for gunpowder, under the equivocal denomination of grain, or for muskets, under the name of fire irons.

The approach of the rebels to Derby increased the preparations in the metropolis: the city gates were guarded; and a large train of artillery was sent from the Tower to a camp formed on Finchley Common, where it was determined to raise the royal standard. This circumstance gave rise to Hogarth's admirable picture, *The March to Finchley*, for which he sought the royal patronage; but the king, who saw nothing in the picture but that his soldiers were ridiculed, expressed great displeasure; and the print was dedicated to the King of Prussia.

An age of tranquillity succeeded, and the military force of London was kept up more for parade than service, when the French revolution broke out, and threatened to extend its influence to every nation of Europe. As the danger approached, the necessary preparations were made with zeal and alacrity. It was at first proposed, that two regiments of militia should be raised by ballot, and placed under the commission of lieutenancy; but this mode was found inconvenient; and in 1796, a new act of parliament was passed, authorizing the city to raise two regi-

ments of 600 men each, by enlistment, the expense of which was to be defrayed by a small assessment on each ward. Each regiment was commanded by a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, ten captains, ten lieutenants, and ten ensigns, all appointed by the great officers of the city, who formed the commission of lieutenancy. The authority of the crown over the two militia regiments was very limited. His majesty could only order one regiment to march out of the city, and that not further than a distance of twelve miles.

The success of the French arms in Italy and Germany, and the threatened invasion of Great Britain, redoubled the military ardour, and volunteer associations were raised in every part of the kingdom. In London they consisted principally of citizens, and other respectable tradesmen, who formed themselves into companies in their respective wards and districts, electing their own officers, finding their own clothing, arms, and accoutrements, and devoting their time and their money to the service of their country. These military preparations were very actively carried on in the year 1798.

The anniversary of the birth of his late majesty was celebrated on the 4th of June, 1799, by one of those spectacles which a free country and a rich city could alone present. His majesty on that day reviewed fifteen thousand men, of whom upwards of eight thousand were citizen soldiers, who had, from motives of the purest patriotism, formed themselves into military associations, and relinquished for a moment their peaceful occupations, to learn "the trade of war," at their own expense, for the purpose of

guarding their own and their sovereign's rights, should they have been attempted to be endangered by the threatened invasion. After the troops had gone through their evolutions, much to the satisfaction of his majesty, and the firing was concluded, the whole line waved their caps in the air, and gave three hearty huzzas, which was echoed and re-echoed by upwards of 150,000 persons who attended the review.

The military spirit and patriotism of the city of London had not yet, however, fully developed itself. Every year, every month, and we might say every day, increased the loyal associations, of which the nucleus only had as yet been found. In the month of October, 1803, a succession of reviews took place, in which more than 30,000 volunteer troops were reviewed; and this number, large as it was, fell far short of the actual force of the metropolis, which, including a few of the adjacent villages within the bills of mortality, where distinct corps had also been formed, amounted to a force of 46,000 men. Well might his royal highness the Duke of York, the commander in chief, observe, in his general orders, " His majesty perceives, with heart-felt satisfaction, that the spirit of loyalty and patriotism on which the system of the armed volunteers throughout the kingdom was originally founded, had risen with the exigencies of the times, and at that moment formed such a bulwark to the constitution and liberties of the country, as will enable us, under the protection of Providence, to bid defiance to the unprovoked malice of our enemies, and to hurl back with becoming indignation, the threats which they have

presumed to vent against our independence, and even our existence as a nation."

Although the threats of invasion were but a *brutum fulmen*, yet government ought rather to rejoice they were made, since they afforded an opportunity of ascertaining the spirit of the British people, and its military power, which at one time exceeded 1,200,000 men in arms. Happily, however, they had no other service to perform than that of parade; and as the idea of danger vanished, the discipline became relaxed, and the volunteer corps gradually dissolved, until the peace of 1814, when the military force of the metropolis was reduced to the Artillery Company and the two regiments of militia which had superseded the trained bands. The last general muster of the volunteer force was in 1814, when his present majesty, then Prince Regent, went in procession to St. Paul's Cathedral, to offer up thanksgiving for the return of peace.

THE HONOURABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY.

Historians, who think that institutions are good in proportion to their antiquity, often labour hard to trace the subject of their research back to the most remote period. An old writer on the Duello, or single combat, commences with the death of Cain, which he says was the result of the first duel. A parliamentary historian goes still farther, and assures us, that the first parliament was held in heaven, when the expulsion of Lucifer was agreed upon. A similar love of antiquity has prompted the historian of the

Honourable Artillery Company to derive its origin previous to the Norman invasion, although he gives no other proof of its existence for five centuries afterwards, than that in the reign of Henry VIII. the city archers and trained bands exercised in a walled enclosure, in the manor of Finsbury, which was then called the Artillery Ground, or Artillery Garden.

The Artillery Company of London may be satisfied with its honours, in its services; and with its antiquity, in acknowledging its origin to have been in the reign of Henry VIII. This monarch, who was fond of archery, and saw with much pleasure that it was a favourite exercise with the citizens, thought that if the archers were organized into a regular company, they might be rendered much more effective. With this view, and in order to encourage archery, he issued his royal letters patent for the formation of the Honourable Artillery Company.

The royal ordinance, which is dated the 25th of August, 1537, grants to "Sir Crystofer Morres, knyght, master of the ordnance, Anthony Knevett and Peter Mewtes, gentlemen of the privy chamber, and overseers of the fraternity or guild of St. George, that they shall be overseers of the science of artillery, namely, of long bows, cross-bows, and hand guns; and that the said Sir Crystofer Morres, Cornelys Johnson, Anthony Anthony, and Henry Johnson, shall be masters and rulers of the said science of artillery, during their lives." The patent grants authority to them and their successors, being Englishmen or denizens, to "begyn, founde, edefye, make, ordeygn, gadre, knytte, and establyshe, a certeyn perpetuall fraternytye of Saint George." Power was given them

to admit all manner of honest persons, strangers as well as others, into a body corporate, having perpetual succession, by the name of "maysters, and rulers, and commynaltye, of the fraternytye or gylde of artyllary, of long bowes, cross bowes, and hand gounnes." The society might elect four under masters or rulers, and had the usual power granted to corporations, that of purchasing lands and using a common seal, with some peculiar privileges.

The fraternity was empowered to form their own laws for their governance, and change them at their pleasure. They were authorized to exercise themselves with shooting at all manner of marks and butts, and at the game of the *popymays*, an artificial parrot, frequently set up as a mark to be shot at; nor did their privileges terminate here. The fraternity of St. George had a full letter of licence to shoot at the fowl or fowls in the city of London and its suburbs, and in all other places in England, Ireland, Calais, and Wales, with the exception of the royal forests, chaces, and parks. They were also precluded from shooting at herons and pheasants, within a circuit of two miles of the royal residence for the time being.

The privileges of this fraternity afforded a great protection for bad marksmen, for if any of them, shooting at a known and accustomed butt, should kill any passenger, he should not be impeached, imprisoned, or troubled for it, if he had, previous to his shooting, spoken the usual word, "Fast."

The fraternity were exempted from the usual laws for regulating costume, and might use any sort of embroidery, silk or velvet, satin or damask, of any colour except scarlet and purple; all sort of furs, not

above that of martyns, were also free for their use. The masters and wardens were exempted from serving on any inquest; their servants were allowed to carry their weapons, but were deprived of the privilege of their masters, that of shooting at the fowl. Had the London citizens been no better marksmen than those of the present day are said to be, such a restraint would seem unnecessary, so far at least as the fowls were concerned.

The old Artillery Ground, which in the time of the Romans was their *Campus Martius*, and had long been used by the London archers to exercise their skill in arms, had become a part of the land attached to the convent of St. Mary Spital, and on the suppression of the monasteries, William Major, the last prior, had granted it to the "fraternity of artillery in great and small ordnance, or gunners of the Tower," who erected a mound of earth for a butt, and every Thursday practised in firing brass cannon.

One of the most important advantages derived from the establishment of the Artillery Company was, that it formed a sort of school where military exercises were taught. Here merchants and artizans, each by turns bearing office, from the captain to the corporal, taught each other the use of arms; and when the preparations to resist the Armada were making, several gentlemen thus trained had commands in the camp at Tilbury. In the subsequent reign, the Artillery Ground became still more a military academy, where an armoury was erected, in which five hundred stand of arms of beautiful workmanship were deposited. Citizens unconnected with the Artillery Company repaired to this place, to learn

how to defend themselves and their country ; and several country gentlemen, as already stated, here learnt the first rudiments of the military art, in order to qualify themselves to train the levies in the country.

The Artillery Company, though acting under a patent of Henry VIII. had now become more regularly incorporated by a charter of James the First, dated the 1st of February, 1605, in which he states, that the Artillery Company " had not only bred and increased a great force and strength, towards the maintenance, defence, and safety, of the realm," but also, " a fear and terror to all other realms and foreign enemies, in times of war and hostility."

The principal object of the charter of James, was to protect to the Company the free exercise of arms, in the grounds appointed for that purpose, which had been invaded, and even the shooting marks removed. A commission was therefore appointed to inquire into the subject, and to give to the Company the privileges they had formerly enjoyed. The charter of James was long enforced : even so late as the year 1746 it was in operation, when a cow-keeper of the name of Pitfield, who had removed one of the shooting marks, was compelled to replace it ; and the Company, in order to perpetuate the circumstance, had " Pitfield's Repentance" inscribed on the stone.

When the Artillery Garden was found too small for exercising the numerous bands of citizens who resorted there, a plot of ground was selected near Moorfields, which Mr. Leate, one of the officers of the Company, prepared for the purpose ; and towards the close of the reign of James the First, it was determined that the Artillery Company, which now

amounted to 6,000 men, should remove to the New Artillery Garden, as it was called, and now known by the name of the Artillery Ground, where the Company have for two centuries mustered.

Charles the First, who in his youth had frequently honoured the Artillery Company with joining in its exercises, appointed a commission, in 1633, similar to that of his father, which was to prevent the fields from being so inclosed as to interrupt the "necessary and profitable exercise of shooting."

The corporation of the city of London seconded the patronage of his majesty; and in 1638, after the Artillery Company had performed their exercises in Merchant-Taylors' Hall before the lord mayor and aldermen, presented them with the present Artillery Ground, as a field for their exercise; to which, two years afterwards, was added, on a long lease, for the rent of six and eightpence, eleven acres of Bunhill Field.

Charles, whose early attachment to the Company never forsook him, caused his sons to become members; and, in 1641, the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, together with the Count Palatine, enlisted into the Honourable Artillery Company, without assuming any share of its government.

During the civil wars, the Artillery Company was much disorganized; but on petition to Cromwell, in 1655, it was revived, and for several years a festival was held at one of the city halls, to celebrate its restoration. On these occasions the Company had a field day, and then marched in procession to St. Paul's Cathedral, where divine service was performed, and a sermon preached. These field days and

festivals were kept up after the restoration, and frequently attended by the Duke of York, who, in 1644, was appointed captain-general of the Company.

The Artillery Company was frequently augmented, and sometimes large numbers of the trained bands, the city auxiliaries, and the Tower-hamlets militia, were admitted without paying any fine; and the society of archers was incorporated with the archers' division of the Artillery Company.

In the political dissensions which took place during the latter part of the reign of Charles the First and the reign of James II. the Artillery Company could not entirely keep aloof, but they refused to abet the arbitrary designs of the monarch, and maintained the honour of the corps.

During the reign of William III. the Artillery Company declined considerably, although the king honoured them with filling the office of captain-general himself; but the clamour at that time raised against standing armies, made the party even jealous of the Artillery Company.

From this period the Artillery Company has always enjoyed the favour of the sovereign, from their unshaken loyalty, and alacrity in lending their services on all occasions. His late majesty manifested a strong partiality to the Company, and in 1766 ordered the commissioned officers of the trained bands to be incorporated with it, appointing at the same time the young Prince of Wales captain-general, a rank which his majesty still continues to hold.

In all the momentary ebullitions of popular feeling during the late reign, the Honourable Artillery Com-

pany were always found at their post, ready to maintain the peace of the metropolis; and although some misunderstanding at one time occurred with the London militia, relative to the right of the latter to exercise in the Artillery Ground, yet it was soon settled by an honourable arrangement. In all the military preparations which have been noticed in a preceding article, the Honourable Artillery Company took the lead; and in all reviews of volunteers by his majesty or his staff officers, the Company takes the first place on the right of the line.

The Honourable Artillery Company is governed by a court of assistants, consisting of a president, vice-president, treasurer, colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major; the lord-mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, for the time being, with twenty-four elective assistants.

The Company possesses the power of censuring, fining, or expelling members for gaming, swearing, being refractory, or for any offence which may be deemed derogatory to their character as citizens and soldiers. A register is kept of the acts and proceedings of the Company; and the first entry on record of a member being expelled is that of one James Coney, for the singular and "unmanly action of biting off his wife's nose."

The costume of the Artillery Company has frequently varied, as well as their armour; but until the last thirty years the pioneers carried a singular weapon, which it is probable was used by them from their first establishment, and much resembled the "morning star," which was much in use in Italy and in Wales in the eleventh century.

THE TOWER.

Antiquaries are very eager to give to the Tower of London a Roman origin; and from the circumstance of an ingot of silver having been discovered, in digging the foundations for a new ordnance-office, have inferred, that it was not only the capital fortress of the Romans, but their treasury and their mint. One historian, more minute than the rest, even considers this identical ingot as a portion of the last treasures sent into Britain for the payment of the Roman forces!

That the Romans might have fortified the banks of the Thames on this spot, is by no means improbable; but there is not the slightest evidence that they ever did so; nor is there any proof of a building having been erected here, until the time of William the Conqueror, who raised that portion of the present fortress which has long been known by the name of the White Tower.

In an age when ecclesiastics were the principal architects, and bishops exchanged their crozier for a baton, and marched at the head of armies, it was not surprising that those who possessed the talents should employ them in military architecture. Hence the Tower was built by Gundulph, bishop of Rochester; but so obscure is every thing connected with the early history of this fortress, that even the date of its erection is unknown, though it must have been begun about the year 1080. Whether any thing more than the White Tower was built in the reign of William the First, seems also doubtful; but his suc-

cessors, William Rufus and Henry the First, are known to have made considerable additions to the original structure, and the former surrounded the Tower by a wall in the year 1097.

Though the first object of the Tower might be as a fortress, yet its history is much more interesting as a palace and as a state prison. As a fortress, it has never had to defend itself against a foreign enemy, though in the domestic troubles, which at an early period of our history agitated the metropolis, the Tower was always considered of importance, and its garrison sometimes called into action; and Mandeville, in whose family the custody of the Tower was at first made hereditary, defended it successively against the Londoners in the time of Stephen, and even made a sortie from it as far as Fulham, carrying off the bishop of London from his palace.

The haughty Longchamps, bishop of Ely, who was made keeper of the Tower during the absence of Richard the First in the Holy Land, found it a place of refuge when his tyranny had roused the nobles to resistance. Longchamps increased its fortifications, and surrounded them by a deep ditch; and had he not been as cowardly as he was tyrannical, might have maintained a long resistance; he however surrendered the fortress, and sought personal safety in flight, disguised as a female.

Prince John, who had assisted the barons in overthrowing the despotism of Longchamps, assuming the tyrant himself, had no sooner gained the throne than he had to defend the Tower against them. At the commencement of hostilities, the barons, to whom the citizens had given the charge of the capital, laid siege

to the Tower, which, though feebly garrisoned, defended itself until the promise of a charter of liberties was wrested from the reluctant monarch. The archbishop of Canterbury was appointed to hold the Tower, in trust, until the king fulfilled his promise and signed Magna Charta. In his subsequent attempts to violate the compact he had signed, he was not able to gain possession of this fortress, which was kept by the archbishop until the arrival of Prince Lewis of France, who had been invited to the English throne, and to whom the Tower was given up. While John lived, and England was torn by intestine wars, the French Prince entertained hopes of the crown; but on the death of that weak but perfidious monarch, loyalty to the native princes returned, and Lewis was compelled to give up the Tower to Henry III. who augmented its fortifications by an additional line, and built the great hall, the royal chapel, a state chamber, &c.

This monarch was anxious to make it suitable as a royal residence, by the splendour and convenience of its apartments; he was equally careful to render it secure, as a place of retreat from the growing turbulence of the barons. Some works of considerable magnitude had been raised, and were barely completed, when, on St. George's day, in the year 1240, the foundations gave way, and the walls and bulwarks, with a grand portal, fell down; they were immediately rebuilt: when, if we are to believe that excellent historian, Matthew Paris, on the following year, and on the same day and hour, the whole again fell down.

After this accident, all design of enlarging or strengthening the Tower was suspended for some time ; and indeed the king was unable to keep possession of it, for in 1258 the parliament of Oxford wrested the sceptre from his feeble hands, and established a government of twenty-four barons, and seized upon the Tower. The measure was, however, too violent, and the king resumed his authority ; but the Tower was now rather a fortress, where he could defend himself, than a palace ; and he at length yielded to the demands of the refractory barons, by subscribing conditions more humiliating than even the parliament of Oxford had demanded. He yielded up all the castles and fortresses, and consented that all foreigners who were obnoxious to the twenty-four barons who were thus reinstated in power, should be banished.

The queen, who possessed more spirit than her husband, indignant at a treaty which banished aliens, quitted the Tower before the barons entered, and endeavoured to reach Windsor, where her son, Prince Edward, had a strong garrison of foreign troops. She left the Tower in a barge ; but had scarcely reached London-bridge, when a mob collected, and not only assailed her with the most indecent language, and cries of "drown the witch," but they actually pelted her with every thing they could lay hold of, which compelled her to return to the Tower.

On the restoration of Henry to his authority, Otho, the pope's legate, fixed his residence in the Tower, and had soon to sustain a very vigorous attack made by the Earl of Gloucester, whose new

insurrection again endangered the king's crown. Otho, assisted by the Jews, who had taken refuge in the Tower, maintained the fortress until relieved by the king, who had marched from Cambridge, and being joined by his son from the north, invested the city with sixty thousand men. He threw succours into the Tower, and carried off the legate ; but it was not until a large fleet of Gascoigns sailed up the Thames, and lay before the Tower, that the rebels sued for peace, which was granted.

King Edward the First completed the fortifications commenced by his father, erected some additional outworks to the west, and enlarged the moat considerably. His son and successor, Edward II., fearing attacks from the barons, who had become provoked by his favouring the oppressions of Piers Gaveston and the De Spencers, endeavoured to make the Tower impregnable by additional fortifications, and by reinforcing the garrison. He did not, however, venture to defend it against the conspiracy of Mortimer and Queen Isabella, but on their approach to the capital, having failed in rousing the Londoners to resistance, he left the Tower in charge of the Bishop of Exeter. The citizens only waited for the king's departure, to display that rebellious spirit which was too manifest ; they took the Tower by surprise, seized the amiable prelate, and several other persons attached to the king, and cut off their heads.

The king was soon afterwards made prisoner, and the two De Spencers hung. The queen entered the city in triumph, accompanied by Prince Edward, and a parliament was called, which transferred the crown from Edward II. to his son.

During the victorious reign of Edward III. the Tower is only interesting on account of its illustrious prisoners, the Kings of France and Scotland, who for some time were its inmates. The commencement of the reign of Richard II. was distinguished by the formidable insurrection of Wat Tyler, which, but for the spirit displayed by the youthful sovereign, and Sir William Walworth, threatened the most serious consequences. (See Vol. i. p. 149.)

When the less formidable in appearance, but more fatal insurrection of Gloucester threatened the power of Richard II., and the Tower was blockaded, he invited the leaders to a conference within its walls. They refused, fearing they might be surprised; until the weak monarch, in order to remove all suspicions, sent them the keys of the gates and the strong turrets, and offered to admit two hundred armed men. The proposal was too favorable to be refused, and the rebels agreed to the conference. The king received them in a splendid pavilion, and agreed to go to Westminster, where he was compelled to submit to the execution of many of his most faithful followers: he soon saw the result of his weakness, and although he returned to the fortress, it was only as a prisoner, to abdicate the throne to his rival.

Jack Cadę, whose insurrection has already been noticed, on entering London, attempted to besiege the Tower; but it was, at that time, defended by a strong garrison, and commanded by a brave governor, Lord Scales, who was very active in putting down the insurrection.

During the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, the Tower was vigorously besieged by the Yorkists. Sir John Wenlock carried on the siege on

the eastern side of the fortress ; artillery was planted to the south, on the opposite side of the river ; and Lord Cobham, with some city aldermen, conducted the siege on the west. Lord Scales, unable to defend the place against such a force, left the Tower by water, but he was seized and killed, and his naked body thrown on the bank of the river.

From this time the Tower of London ceases to be interesting as a fortress, for, during the civil wars, it was successively occupied by the different parties, without a sword being drawn or a shot being fired ; and when James II. quitted the capital, the Tower was secured immediately for the Prince of Orange. In times of alarm, measures have been taken for strengthening the city fortress, as was the case so late as 1792, when the garrison was increased ; "several hundred men," says Bayley, in his *History of the Tower*, "were employed in repairing the fortifications, opening embrasures, and mounting cannon ; and on the western side of the fortress, a strong barrier was formed with old casks, filled with earth and rubble : the gates were closed at an early hour, and no one but the military allowed to go upon the ramparts."

From the time that the Tower was first erected, until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it was frequently used as a palace where our monarchs "kept open household and frank resort," and where the royal court, and even parliaments, were held. From the Tower all processions and pageants generally proceeded, whether it was to a tournament or a coronation : and the kings of England, from the time of Richard II. to the accession of James II., always proceeded from the Tower to Westminster to be crowned, in

grand procession, with the exception of Charles I. who was prevented by the plague.

The most splendid coronation pageants were those of Queen Elizabeth and Charles the Second. On the coronation of Elizabeth, the streets, through which her majesty had to pass, were lined with the several companies in their best array, while the houses were covered with costly draperies. Triumphant arches were constructed in several places; from one a child addressed the queen, who rode in an open chariot, in a flattering oration; another triumphal arch was decorated with emblematic figures of the union of the houses of York and Lancaster: a third was called, "the seate of worthy governaunce," and represented the eight beatitudes, with the cardinal virtues trampling on the opposite vices, particularly ignorance and superstition. At the standard in Cheapside, the recorder presented her majesty with a thousand marks of gold, in a purse of crimson velvet, as a token of the city's love, and implored her protection. Here also a child, representing Truth, descended as from heaven, and presented her majesty with a Bible. At some distance was another triumphal arch, where a female, robed like a queen, and bearing the insignia of royalty, sat under a palm tree, with this inscription, "Deborah, the judge and restorer of the house of Israel." At Temple Bar the queen was welcomed by the giants, Gogmagog and Corineus, who, to aid the city pomp, were sometimes wont to

"Walk from their pedestals to take the air."

They displayed a long scroll in Latin verse, explaining the whole of the city pageants.

Gorgeous as the procession of Queen Elizabeth appears to have been, it was surpassed at the coronation of Charles II. ; at least, so Heath would have us believe, for he assures us, in his Chronicle, that "all the world that saw it, could not but confess, that what they had seen before, was but solemn mummerly to the most august, noble, and true glories of this great day : even the vaunting French confessed their pomps of the late marriage with the infanta of Spain, at their majesty's entrance into Paris, to be inferior in state, gallantry, and riches, to this most glorious calcade from the Tower."

The fortifications of the Tower of London occupy a space of about twelve acres, and consist of a citadel, or keep, encompassed by an inner and outer ward, and surrounded by a moat supplied with water from the Thames. There are four entrances : the principal one is over a stone bridge at the south-west angle of the inclosure, where there was formerly a large draw-bridge. In addition to the two draw-bridges on the south side, which separate the fortress from the quay, or terrace, on the banks of the Thames, there is also a private entrance by water, under a strong tower, which is called the Traitors' Gate, on account of its being the way by which state prisoners were brought to the Tower. The barbican, which formerly stood beyond the ditch on the west, no longer exists. The entrance to the principal bridge is protected by a strong tower flanked with bastions ; and the fortress is so constructed, as to afford many precautions against sudden surprise, or a full capture of the place, even if the outerworks should be occupied.

The principal royal apartments were in the inner

ward, which was formerly enclosed by a lofty wall of stone about forty feet high, and from nine to twelve feet thick. It was also embattled and strengthened with thirteen small towers, most of which, as well as a considerable part of the wall, still remain.

The White Tower, though the largest, the most ancient, and the most complete, is, by no means, the most interesting part of this fortress. It is a massive edifice of a quadrangular form, 116 feet long, 96 broad, and 92 feet high; it is embattled, and has a turret at each angle: one of these turrets was used by Flamstead as an observatory, previous to the establishment of the royal observatory at Greenwich. On the first floor of the White Tower are two large rooms, one of which is, at present, used as a repository for cavalry arms, and the other as a tool house. There are also a vaulted room and a cell evidently intended for prisons: and tradition relates, that in one of these cells Sir Walter Raleigh wrote his History of the World. Here, too, were confined several of the persons connected with Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion in 1553-4, two of whom have left the following inscription on the sides of the door-way leading to the cell. "HE THAT INDVRETH TO THE ENDE SHALL BE SAVED. M. 10. R. RYDSTON DAR. KENT. ANO. 1553."—"BE FAITHFVL VNT0 THE DETH AND I WIL GIVE THE A CROWNE OF LIFE. T. FANE 1554," and underneath the inscription is "T. Cvlpepper of Darford."

On the second floor are two rooms used as armories, and an apartment commonly called Cæsar's chapel, which Mr. Bayley, to whose History of the Tower we acknowledge ourselves indebted, says, "may

justly be said to exhibit one of the finest and most perfect specimens of the Norman style of architecture now extant in this country."

When the sovereign held his court in the Tower, this chapel was used for the private devotions of the royal family and household. A chaplain regularly performed service here, whose salary, in the reign of Henry III., who greatly ornamented the chapel, was fifty shillings a year. The chapel, which was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, has long ceased to be a sacred room, and is now appropriated as one of the rooms of the record office.

The uppermost story of the White Tower exhibits a massive timber roof of great antiquity. The principal room on this floor is traditionally reported to have been the council chamber; and here the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., is said to have ordered the execution of Lord Hastings, and the arrest of the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and Lord Stanley.

In addition to the chapel already noticed, there is another in the fortress which was erected in the reign of Edward the First, and was dedicated to St. Peter ad Vincula. It is a plain building quite destitute of ornament, and derives its sole interest from its being the cemetery where so many noble and distinguished personages at last found repose, after falling the victims of the tyranny or jealousy of Henry the Eighth, whose soul must have been appalled at the recollection of the chapel of St. Peter, could the consciousness of guilt appal it.

Here rest the remains of the lovely Anne Boleyn, whose absence, the monarch once declared,

gave "greater pains to his heart, than angel or scripture could express;" and yet he sent her, and her innocent brother, George Boleyn, Lord Rochford (who is also buried here) to the block. If the spirits of the dead could be disturbed by the vicinage of crime, those of the queen and her brother might be so, for here the wife of the latter, the wretched agent of the king, in their death, is buried. She was an accomplice in the crimes of Queen Catharine Howard, another of Henry's wives, and with her was executed and buried.

The pious prelate, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who was reduced to the melancholy situation of begging food, a shirt, and other clothes, and who, when found to survive this treatment, was beheaded, sleeps in the same tomb as his patron, Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, so long the favorite of the king; and with them rests, in eternal peace, the virtuous Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor. All these were sacrificed to the tyranny, jealousy, or caprice of Henry VIII.

The last of the Plantagenets, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury; Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, who was executed in 1552, and his brother, the haughty Thomas Seymour, Baron Sudley, whom he had three years before sent to the block, sleep in peaceful amity, with the ambitious John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, the enemy of their house, who raised himself on the ruin of Somerset, and, like him, fell a victim to his ambition.

Here, also, reposes the victim of paternal and fraternal affection, Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy of Ireland, who died of a broken

heart, a short time before his son, and five of his brothers, were executed for participating in the treason with which he was charged.

Here, also, are entombed two of the victims of Queen Elizabeth's jealousy, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, executed for aspiring to an union with Mary Queen of Scots; and the once favorite Essex, whom a heartless princess sent to the block, mangling the neck on which she had so often hung. The ill-fated James, Duke of Monmouth, is also buried here, as are the three Scottish peers, who joined in the rebellion of 1745, the Lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Lovat, who are all buried in the same grave. The leaden plates, which had been fixed on their coffins, are still preserved in the chapels, and bear similar inscriptions, with the alteration of the name and age of the parties. That on Lord Lovat is as follows :

Simon Dominus
Frazer de Lovat
Decollat. Apr. 9. 1747
Ætat. suæ, 80.

Several officers of the Tower are also interred in this chapel, and, among others, that faithful guardian of the regalia, Talbot Edwards, who defeated Colonel Blood's attempt to steal the crown.

The advowson of this chapelry is in the crown; the annual stipend is 115*l.* 5*s.*; and the present chaplain is that venerable author, the Rev. William Coxe, Archdeacon of Wilts.

In the lieutenant's house, a large and inconvenient old building, usually occupied by the major, or resi-

dent governor, there is a monument recording the gunpowder plot conspiracy.

The Bell Tower is of a circular form, with a curious vaulted roof. It was in this tower that Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was confined; and tradition, without any good ground, also marks it as the place of Queen Elizabeth's confinement. It is now used as one of the domestic offices of the governor.

Connected with the Bell Tower, by a paved footway, is the Beauchamp, or Cobham Tower, which has always been one of the principal state prisons. It takes its double name from Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, a prisoner here in 1397, and from the Cobhams, who were also its inmates for Wyat's conspiracy. The Beauchamp Tower consists of two stories, whose walls bear numerous records of the misery of those who were confined within them, and, destitute of books or paper, beguiled the time in inscribing memorials of their sufferings on the walls.

Among the distinguished prisoners in this tower was Philip, Earl of Arundel, son of the Duke of Norfolk, whose execution has already been noticed. The earl, who had been arrested on frivolous charges, and condemned on very questionable evidence, was reprieved by Elizabeth, and, after lingering ten years in confinement, died on the 19th of October, 1595, in the fortieth year of his age. His principal crime was that of being a staunch papist; and it is said, that the descendants of the family consider him so much a martyr to the Roman Catholic religion, that a late duchess procured the skull, and had it encased in gold, as a valuable relic and stimulant to devotion. This earl has left several inscriptions on the walls of

the Beauchamp Tower, expressive of his innocence, and of his consciousness that he was punished for his religious opinions alone.

John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who died in this tower in 1553, has left a piece of well executed sculpture near the fire-place, representing the bear and ragged staff (the family arms), surrounded with a border of oak sprigs, roses, and other flowers.

Another prisoner, Charles Bailly, an adherent of Mary Queen of Scots, who once suffered the tortures of the rack without making any disclosure of importance, has left some moral reflections neatly inscribed on the walls of his prison. Here Dr. Story, who was executed at Tyburn in 1571, has also inscribed his name on the walls. A singular circumstance attended his execution: he was cut down before his senses had left him; and is reported to have struggled with the executioner, while the latter was carrying into effect that revolting part of the punishment of traitors (now repealed) tearing out his bowels. One of the charges against Dr. Story was, for consulting with a noted magician against the queen's life, and for having cursed her daily in his grace at meals!

Pious ejaculations, moral reflections, worldly advice, and records of personal suffering, form the subjects of nearly all the inscriptions; and but one individual has left a memorial of his attachment to the sex; it is that of a prisoner whose name is only known from the circumstance, and of whose crime there is no record. A bleeding heart, with the initials, T W and P. A., are subscribed with the following words: "Thomas Wyllingar goldsmith—My hart is yours till dethe."

The Beauchamp Tower is traditionally said to have been the prison of Anne Boleyn and Lady Jane Grey; but, though there is no evidence to support it, it is by no means improbable, as it was long more used as a prison than any of the Towers. Some of the state prisoners of 1794 were confined here.

The Jewel Tower, where the regalia are now kept, was formerly known by the name of the Martin Tower.

The Broad Arrow Tower is of smaller dimensions than the Beauchamp Tower, but, like it, has been much used as a prison, and its walls contain numerous inscriptions, few of which are of interest; indeed, our prison albums are much less interesting than those discovered in the Bastile, on its demolition in 1789.

The Salt Tower contains a very singular and hieroglyphical device by one "Hew Draper, a tavern keeper at Bristol," who was committed here on the 21st of March, 1560, on the accusation of "one John Man, an astronomer, as a suspect of a conjurer or sorcerer, and thereby to practise matter against Sir William Lowe and my ladie;" a lamentable instance of the facility, with which life and liberty could, in those days, be sacrificed.

The Lanthorn Tower was of considerable antiquity, and formerly contained the king's bed chamber. It communicated with the great hall, the scene of many a royal banquet in the reigns of our Henries and our Edwards. The Lanthorn Tower was considerably damaged by fire in 1788, and soon after its remains were taken down. The site of this tower, and of se-

veral other parts of the ancient palace, are now occupied by the buildings of the Ordnance office.

The Bloody Tower is thought to have derived its appellation from the circumstances of the two princes, Edward V., and his brother, Richard, Duke of York, who are supposed to have been put to death here, by order of their uncle, the Duke of Gloucester. Mr. Bayley, who doubts whether the royal brothers were murdered in the Tower, and ridicules the idea of calling it bloody when the children were smothered, infers, that if they were put to death in this fortress at all, it must have been at a different part of it ; as the bones discovered in the time of Charles the Second, which, on account of their appearing to be those of children, had afterwards royal interment in Henry VII.'s chapel, were found on the south side of the White Tower, which is at a considerable distance from the place where the deed is supposed to have been perpetrated.

In addition to the towers thus described, there were several others, of some of which nothing but the foundation remain ; nor is the history of them interesting even in their ancient state.

The history of the Tower of London forms a black page in the early annals of this country, as, on account of the security it presented, the most illustrious prisoners have always been confined within its walls.

A lamentable catastrophe attended one of the first prisoners of royal blood that tenanted the Tower. This was Gryffydd, the eldest son of Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, who attempted to make his escape from this prison in 1244. He had formed a rope of the hangings, sheets, and table cloths, with which he let

himself down from the top of the Tower, but, being a very corpulent man, the rope broke, and he was dashed to pieces. In the reign of Edward III., two sovereigns, taken prisoners in two distant wars, were confined in the Tower—John, King of France, and David, King of Scotland; both were treated with the highest respect, and even with delicate attention, by Edward, and his gallant son, the Black Prince.

It was in the Tower that Lady Arabella Stuart died the victim of grief. This amiable princess was an object of unjust suspicion with both Elizabeth and James, though guilty of no other crime than that of marrying a man she loved, William Seymour, grandson of the Earl of Hertford. For this offence she was committed to the Tower, while her husband was also committed to prison. Both the prisoners contrived to escape, and intended to pass over to France, but were seized and brought back to prison. The Lady Arabella was more strictly watched than ever, and it appears by her autograph letters, of which there are several in the possession of Lord Weymouth, as well as in the British Museum, that she was even deprived of necessary comforts. In a letter to Viscount Fenton, she entreats his lordship to make known to the king her "most uncomfortable and distressed state;" and in another part of the letter, which she had afterwards cancelled, she complains, that she cannot get any thing but ordinary diet, and that unfit for a person suffering under sickness, as she was. It was in vain that she presented memorials to the king, and sought the good offices of the queen, and such of the nobility as she thought had influence with his majesty—for the relentless James left her to

perish in the Tower. In the Harleian MSS. vol. 7003, there is a fragment of one of her letters to the king, which exhibits her own humility, and the unfeeling character of James, whom she thus addresses : " In all humility, the most wretched and unfortunate creature that ever lived, prostrates itself at the feet of the most merciful king, that ever was, desiring nothing but mercy and favour, not being more afflicted for any thing, than for the loss of that, which hath been this long time the only comfort it had in this world ; and which, if it were to do again, I would not adventure the loss of for any other worldly comfort ; mercy it is I desire, and that for God's sake."

During the civil wars of Charles I., the Protectorate, and after the restoration of Charles II., the Tower was not wanting in inmates.

In a collection of pamphlets, which were presented by his late majesty to the British Museum, there is a folio sheet, printed in September, 1647, which gives us a list of the prisoners in the Tower at that time. It is entitled, " A Loyall Song of the Royall Feast, Kept by the Prisoners in the Towre, in August last, with the names, titles, and character of every prisoner. By Sir F. W., Knight and Baronet, prisoner."

The song, which contains twenty-five stanzas, is curious, as showing the staunch loyalty of the prisoners, and the humour of one of them at least, even in his confinement. It thus commences :

" God save the best of kings, King Charles,
The best of queens, Queen Mary,
The ladies all, Gloster and Yorke,
Prince Charles so like old Harry :

God send the king his own again,
His Towre and all his coyners,
And bless all kings who are to reigne
From traytors and purloyners.

The king sent us poor traytors here
(But you may guesse the reason,)
Two brace of bucks to mend the cheere ;
Is't not to eat them treason?"

The writer of the song, which is an imitation of the ballad of Chevy Chace, enumerates the names of the prisoners, all of whom he eulogizes for their good conduct. The prisoners named, are the Marquis of Winchester, the Bishop of Ely, Judge Jenkins, Sir Frank Wortly, (the author of the ballad, we presume,) Sir Edward Hales, Sir John Strangways, Sir John Hewet, Sir Thomas Lunsford, Colonel Cleaveland, Giles Strangways, Esq., Sir John Marlow, Sir William Morton, Sir Henry Vaughan, John Lilburne, and several others. Two stanzas, descriptive of the two last mentioned persons, will show the spirit of the ballad.

Sir Henry Vaughan looks as grave
As any beard can make him,
Those come poor prisoners for to see,
Doe for our patriarch take him :
Old Harry is a right true blue,
As valiant as Pendraggon,
And would be loyall to his king,
Had King Charles ne'er a rag on.
The king sent us, &c.

John Lilburne is a stirring blade,
And understands the matter,
He neither will king, bishops, lords,
Nor th' house of commons flatter :
John loves no power prerogative,
But that deriv'd from Sion,
As for the mitre and the crown,
Those two he looks awry on.

The king sent us, &c.

The Tower still continues to be used as a state prison ; here the last victims of attachment to the exiled house of Stuart perished ; and here, in 1794, Mr. Horne Tooke, Hardy, and the other persons charged with high treason, were confined : one of them, John Augustus Bonney, has inscribed, on the walls of his prison, an epitaph on a cat, which with true republican feeling he called *citizen*, and the following epitaph on a goldfinch.

“ Where Raleigh pin'd, within a prison's gloom,
I cheerful sing, nor murmur'd at my doom ;
Where heroes bold, and patriots firm could dwell,
A goldfinch in content his note might swell ;
But death, more gentle than the laws decree,
Hath paid my ransom from captivity.

“ Buried, June 23, 1794, by a fellow-prisoner,
in the Tower of London.”

The last time that the Tower of London was used as a state prison, and may it long continue the last, was in the year 1820, when Thistlewood, and his associates in the plot, known by the name of the Cato Street Conspiracy, for massacring the whole of the

king's ministers, were confined here. During their trial they were brought every morning from the Tower to the Old Bailey, and conveyed back again in the evening. When five of them had been found guilty and sentenced to death, they were executed in front of Newgate, and not on Tower Hill, as was formerly the custom.

Within the walls of the Tower are the Mint, the Jewel Office, the Armoury, the Ordnance Office, the Record Office, and the Menagerie.

The Ordnance Office, of which his grace, the Duke of Wellington, is, at present, master, superintends the supplying of arms, ammunition, and other warlike stores required in the service. When the principal arms consisted in the bow, the officers of this establishment were called the bowyer, the cross-bowyer, the armourer, &c. In time of war, the number of officers, clerks, and wardens, in the Ordnance Office, exceeds three hundred, exclusive of porters, servants, and other attendants.

The Record Office contains the parliamentary rolls, from the reign of King John to that of Richard III. : a survey of the manors of England, and a register of the ancient tenures of all the lands ; ancient perambulation of forests ; a collection of charters granted to colleges and corporations ; the book of prayer under the great seal, printed and sanctioned by Charles II., on his restoration, together with several state papers and documents of great antiquity.

The public records of Scotland, which Oliver Cromwell seized on, were placed in the Tower, where they remained until the restoration, when Charles II., intending to return them to Edinburgh

Castle, sent them in a vessel, which was wrecked near Holy Island, and the valuable documents were lost.

The Royal Menagerie in the Tower, where our monarchs formerly amused themselves with seeing the combats of wild beasts, is not remarkable either for the number or the rarity of the animals it contains, and, as a collection of natural history, is unworthy of a great nation, whose fleets and armies would enable them to collect all that is wonderful in nature or art from every clime.

The government of the Tower is vested in a constable, a lieutenant, and other subordinate officers. The opening and shutting of the gates, in the morning and evening, is done with great ceremony, and is almost the only circumstance that reminds the inhabitants of London, that they have a fortress within their walls regulated by a military government. The warders, who attend at the Tower, and wear the livery of the yeomen of the guard, were appointed to their office by Henry VIII. The king, after residing in the Tower some months on the death of his father, left fifteen of his body guard, and gave them the name of warders; and, afterwards, in consequence of their attention to the protector, Duke of Somerset, when confined there, he procured them the honour of wearing the same livery as the yeomen of the guard.

THE JEWEL OFFICE—THE REGALIA.

It is probable, that from the moment the Tower became a royal residence, it was the place where the regalia was deposited, though the first evidence on record, of its being used as a jewel office, is in an order

made, in the fourteenth year of Henry III., to the Bishop of Carlisle, directing that the four coffers of the king's jewels should be "laid up in the Tower." From this time the regalia appears to have been kept in the White Tower until about the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was removed to a stone room near the grand store house, which has since been known by the name of the Jewel Office.

The situation of keeper of the regalia was formerly considered an office of great honour and dignity, as well as trust. In the reign of Edward III., John Flete, the first keeper of the jewels, whose name has been preserved, had an allowance of twelve pence per day, which was, in succeeding reigns, gradually increased, so that, in the time of Henry VIII., it was 50*l.* per annum. The smallness of this salary might induce an opinion, that the office was not of much importance, did we not find it held by persons of consideration, among whom was Thomas Cromwell, the favourite and victim of Henry VIII.

The keeper of the regalia was formerly styled Master and Treasurer of the Jewel House; and, in addition to the care of the crown jewels in the Tower, he had the purchasing and custody of the royal plate—the appointment of the king's goldsmiths and jewellers—the supplying of plate to ambassadors, &c. If the emoluments arising from such extensive patronage and authority were not very considerable, offices of this sort must have been differently managed in former times to what they are at present: but that the perquisites of the keeper of the regalia were very great, is evident from their amounting to 1300*l.*

a year in the reign of Charles II., although they had then undergone considerable reduction.

Previous to the restoration, the keeper of the regalia was allowed a table of fourteen dishes, with beer, wine, &c., or thirty-eight shillings daily for board wages ; his new year's gifts amounted to 300*l.* a year, for formerly such things were frequent at court, and Queen Elizabeth impoverished more than one of her courtiers, by receiving presents from them, ill-suited to their fortune to bestow. The keeper got about 300*l.* more, by conveying presents to the ambassadors, and he had an allowance of twenty-eight ounces of gilt plate every year. The small presents sent to the king fell to the share of the keeper, and produced him some thirty or forty pounds annually ; and the purses, in which donations of gold from the peers were handed to her majesty, were also given to him. These purses were very splendid, and generally worth thirty or forty pounds each.

These emoluments were much cut down on the restoration, when Sir Henry Mildmay, who had been the keeper during the interregnum, was attainted, and the office given to Sir Gilbert Talbot ; but, in order to augment the reduced salary, Charles II. allowed the regalia, for the first time, to be exhibited to the public, a custom that has been continued ever since. Sir Gilbert appointed to the office of shewing the jewels Talbot Edwards, an old servant of his father's, who had the profit arising from the exhibition, for his salary. It was during the time that Mr. Edwards held this office, that Colonel Blood made the daring attempt to carry off the crown of England, in which he so nearly succeeded.

It appears, from a narrative of this event, drawn up by Mr. Edwards himself, that about three weeks before the attempt was made, Blood went to the Tower in the habit of a parson with a long cloak cassock and canonical girdle. He was accompanied by a female, whom he called his wife; Blood's visit was a preliminary one, and no sooner had he and his companion been introduced to the jewel room, than the woman feigned sudden indisposition, which called forth the kind offices of Mrs. Edwards, thus affording a pretext for Blood to call again with a present of four pair of gloves, as an acknowledgement of her kind attentions to his wife. In this second visit he so far ingratiated himself with Mr. and Mrs. Edwards, as to propose a match between their daughter and a young nephew of his, who he represented as having a fortune of 300*l.* a year. Blood was invited to dinner, when he said grace with great seeming devotion, and concluded with a prayer for the king, queen, and royal family.

Blood fixed a time to introduce his pretended nephew, and when the day arrived, Miss Edwards "was in her best dress to entertain her expected lover: when behold Parson Blood, with three more, came to the jewel house, all armed with rapier blades in their canes, and every one a dagger and a brace of pocket pistols:" two of his companions entered in with him, on pretence of seeing the crown, and the third stayed at the door, "as if to look after the young lady, a jewel of a more charming description, but, in reality, an a watch."

Blood desired Mr. Edwards to show his friends the crown, but no sooner had they entered the room, and the door was, as usual, closed, than a cloak was thrown

over the head of Mr. Edwards, and a gag put in his mouth. He was told that they were resolved to have the crown, the globe, and sceptre, and that his resistance would cost him his life. But the poor old man valued the faithful discharge of his duty more than life, and made all the noise that he could, until he was knocked down with a mallet and stabbed in the body, when he was left senseless on the floor. Blood seized the crown, which he put under his cloak; Parrot, one of his associates, put the orb in his breeches; and the third accomplice began to cut the sceptre in two with a file, when the son of Mr. Edwards unexpectedly arrived at the Tower from Flanders, and disconcerted the daring robbers, who decamped with the crown and orb, leaving the sceptre.

Old Mr. Edwards, who had by this time recovered, called out *treason, murder*, which gave the alarm. Young Edwards, and his brother-in-law, Captain Beckman, pursued Blood, who had discharged a pistol at one of the warders that attempted to stop him, but the robbers succeeded in passing the drawbridge. They proceeded towards St. Catharine's gate, where horses were waiting for them, but were overtaken by Captain Beckman. Blood discharged a pistol at him which missed, and he was seized. Under his cloak was found the crown, which he struggled to keep, and when it was wrested from him, he said, "It was a gallant attempt, however unsuccessful; it was for a crown." Parrot and Hunt, two of his accomplices, were also taken, and after remaining a short time in prison, they were all discharged, "a result," as Lord Lyttleton observes, "as extraordinary as the attempt; for while all men thought that some new

punishment would be devised to torture so daring an offender, his majesty thought proper not only to pardon him and his accomplices, but to grant Blood a pension of 500*l.* a year during his life." It is believed, that Charles's fear for his own safety induced him to pardon Blood, as he had threatened the king that he was connected with a formidable band, who would revenge any act done towards himself.

The atrocity of Blood's crime was almost forgotten in its daring : and in a MS. in the British Museum there is an epigram, which attributes the failure of the attempt to the humanity of Blood in sparing the life of the keeper, adding, that if he had put on ".mitral cruelty" with the priest's cloak, he had succeeded.

The value of the regalia in the Jewel Office in the Tower is estimated at two millions sterling. The most prominent and the most costly article is the new imperial crown, first used on the coronation of his present majesty in 1821. The cap of this crown is of crimson velvet, and it is lined with the finest ermine. A double fillet of large pearls are set round the lower rim, and between each row is placed a magnificent band of jewels. Four crosses *pattée*, frosted with the richest brilliants, are placed at equal distances above the fillet of pearls. Under the front cross is the largest and the most beautiful azure-coloured sapphire that is known ; and the ruby under the back cross, which is as large as the sapphire, is equally unique. It is in its natural state, and has received no polish from art. This beautiful gem, which is semi-transparent, and of a dark red colour, was brought by Edward the Black Prince from Spain,

when this gallant hero assisted Peter the Cruel to recover his kingdom, and defeated the hitherto invincible Du Guesclin. This ruby is said to have been worn by the prince at the battle of Cressy, and afterwards by Henry V. in the equally memorable victory of Agincourt.

The arches of the crown are of the imperial form; and the orb, or mound, on which the *cross pattee*, surmounting the cap, rests, is formed of several hoops of gold, studded with the finest brilliants. The diamond flowers between the arches are of the shape of the emblem of Gallic sovereignty, the *fleur de lis*.

This splendid crown, which is unrivalled in value and elegance, is enclosed in a glass globe, which is made to revolve by some ingenious machinery, invented by Mr. March, the resident officer of the board of works in the Tower. By this means, the spectators see every part of it, while six powerful argand lamps are so disposed, as to throw upon the jewels every hue their prisms can exhibit.

In the Jewel Office there are four other crowns, and seven sceptres. One of the sceptres, with a dove on it, was discovered in 1814 behind a part of the old wainscotting of the Jewel-house, where it must have remained several years. It is thought to have been the sceptre made for Queen Mary, who was not only the queen consort of William the Third, but also queen regnant conjointly with her husband. Here, also, are the golden orb, which the king holds in his right hand at his coronation—the swords of mercy and of justice—the large golden salt cellar, which forms a model of the White Tower—a grand silver font, used at the baptism of the royal family,

and the banquetting plate used at the coronation feast—the ampulla, or golden eagle, for the consecrated oil with which the king is anointed, and all the other regalia used at the splendid ceremonial of a coronation. A singular tradition, respecting the ampulla, states, that it was brought by the Virgin to Thomas à Becket, while he was praying in a church at Sens during his banishment, to whom she also gave a small vial, and assured him that the kings anointed with it would be happy and prosperous ; but the chequered history of English monarchs has proved how little virtue there is in the ampulla, and that often

“ Within the hollow crown,
That rounds the mortal temples of a king
Keeps death his court, and there the antick sits,
Scoffing his state, and grinning at his pomp.”

The crowns and the principal articles of the regalia are exhibited to visitors in the same manner as the imperial crown, and the fees thus received form a principal source of the emoluments of the keeper, who resides in the Tower.

THE ARMOURY.

Whether Tubal Cain, who is described in scripture as “an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron,” and who, according to Vossius, is the Vulcan of the Greeks and Romans, taught the manufacture of armour or not, seems doubtful ; though it is probable, that the first efforts of art were to afford every possi-

ble protection to the body in the exercise of the chase and the field of war. Herodotus describes the ancient Egyptians as fighting in armour; and in Assyria, Persia, and all the Asiatic empires, it was in use from the earliest period, whence it was introduced among the warlike tribes of Europe, who at first contemned all protection but their innate courage, and considered any defence except the shield as a mark of effeminacy. Defensive armour, once introduced, became in constant use, and varied according to the weapons which were successively adopted, in order the better to counteract them.

It was long, however, before any collection of armour was made, and the several armouries of Europe were not formed until the last age of chivalric splendour—the sixteenth century, when Henry VIII., Francis I., Charles V., and Maximilian I., laid the foundations of four of the best armouries in Europe: yet their collections were all of modern armour; and Dr. Meyrick, in his valuable inquiry into the origin of armour, has very satisfactorily proved, “that although in private families a few suits of earlier date had been preserved in Italy, that of Maximilian, with its steel lamboys, and that of Henry VII., resembling it, are the oldest specimens in Germany and England.”

Such a declaration is much at variance with all preceding descriptions of the armour in the Tower, which has been confidently given a much higher antiquity; but this is the case with all collections of armour: hence the Ambras collection now at Vienna, though containing armour of the same period as the suits in the Tower, has equally with it been asserted

to possess specimens of great antiquity, exhibiting the suits pretended to have been worn by the German emperors from the time of Albert I., Emperor of the Romans, down to the period when body armour was principally relinquished.

It appears from a survey made by order of Charles II. in October 1660, that the principal armour now in the Tower was then at Greenwich, whence it has subsequently been removed. During the civil distractions of the preceding reign, the armoury in the Green gallery, at Greenwich, was despoiled by the soldiers, and that what remained was afterwards transferred to the Tower. In this survey, which is signed by Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, and other officers appointed to make the investigation, there is not the slightest mention of the Spanish armoury, or the thumbscrews, racks, and wire whips, which now form so attractive a feature in this exhibition; and yet the surveyors give a very minute list of every thing found in the armouries of the Tower and Greenwich. The Spanish armoury must therefore have been made up subsequent to the reign of Charles II., and its genuineness consequently becomes more than doubtful. In Burghley's State Papers, a lottery of foreign armour, probably that of the Armada, is said to have been drawn in the 29th year of Elizabeth, and if the instruments of torture, and the Catholic banner, now exhibited, are really spoils of the Armada, they must have been collected at least a century after they were dispersed by the lottery. There is, however, so little reason to believe, that any portion of the armour, called Spanish, is really so, that little faith can be placed in

the authenticity of the instruments of torture which the growing enmity to the Roman Catholics would readily ascribe to them.

The targets with pistols in them, exhibited as Spanish, were in the Tower in the reign of Edward VI., and therefore could not have belonged to the Armada; the pikes, shown as Spanish, were common to the English soldiery, as well as the Spaniards; and the glaives, bills, halberds, &c. which principally form this collection, were used in England in the reign of Henry VIII. But then there is Queen Elizabeth, in the very armour, we are told, which she wore when she rode on a steed, richly caparisoned, to review her forces at Tilbury Fort. Unfortunately, however, for the correctness of this statement, there is not the slightest evidence of her majesty having worn armour on this memorable occasion; and it farther appears, that the fluted breast plate, and the *garde-de-reine*, in which her figure is now environed, belonged to her father, and that they could not have been worn in a sitting posture; and the armour for her arms is of the time of Charles the First. Nor are the other parts of the equestrian exhibition of armour in the Tower more correct: the armour attributed to William the Conqueror is of Edward the Sixth's time, or of the early part of Elizabeth's reign; the suit worn by Edward I. in the Tower, is also of the reign of the sixth Edward, with the addition of a *martel de fer*, of the time of James I. placed in his hand. Edward III. wears a suit of white armour of Henry Eighth's time, and Henry IV. is encased in another suit of the time of Edward VI.

The armour of Henry V., which we are assured he wore at the battle of Agincourt, is composed of various pieces, some of which were not made until two centuries after this memorable victory: the upper part of the armour is of the time of Charles I., while the legs, which, like those of old Jacob Tonson, are not fellows, are of the reign of Henry VII. Henry VI. and Edward IV. have also each borrowed a pair of legs from Henry VIII., and a suit of body armour from Charles the First: while Edward V. wears a rich and highly decorated suit, which appears to have been made for that promising youth, Henry Prince of Wales, son of James the First.

Henry the Seventh, no doubt, wears his own armour, and it is one of the greatest curiosities in the Tower, for the lamboys, or puckered petticoat, is so contrived, as to reach the saddle behind, and then fall on each side.

Henry VIII. wears what may be fairly considered his own proper armour,—the legs perhaps excepted.

Edward VI. wears a suit, which seems to have been made for Prince Henry, son of James I., but in compliment to the piety of the young king, a variety of scriptural subjects are engraved on it in different compartments.

James I., who would not easily have been induced to trust himself in a suit of armour, is encased in one which belonged to the Earl of Warwick, about the time of Elizabeth or Mary.

King Charles the First wears a rich suit of gilt armour, which was presented to him by the City of London when Prince of Wales. His son and succes-

sor, Charles II. wears a splendid suit, of the time of Edward VI.; as does William III., while George the First and George the Second wear the armour of the time of Henry VIII.; the former having the addition of a Turkish bridle.

Thus, of the seventeen monarchs who appear in armour in the Tower, only three wear that of the period in which they lived: and in the small armoury, the figures which represent King John, Henry III., Henry V., and Henry VI., are all in suits of cavaliers' armour, of the time of Charles I., with flaming swords which are of a still later date.

De Courcy, the ancestor of the Earls of Kinsale, of whose strength and prowess so many anecdotes are related, wears the armour of a demi-launcer of the time of Edward VI., with a helmet of Henry VII.; John of Gaunt, "time honoured Lancaster," wears a gigantic suit of armour, seven feet high, of the time of Henry VIII.; Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and the jester, Will. Somers, wear suits of the time of Charles the First, or Second.

But although the armour in the Tower is thus inappropriately displayed, it is sufficiently rich and varied to admit of a correct arrangement of several perfect suits, and it is much to be wished, that such a classification of it was made.

But notwithstanding the anachronisms we have pointed out, the armoury in the Tower is highly curious and interesting, not only for the several relics of antiquity it contains, but for the ingenious and tasteful manner in which 100,000 stand of modern arms are displayed. The royal train of artillery, capable of dealing destruction on all around, is also

an object of wonder and awe : but the curious will probably be more gratified in viewing the state swords of the Pretender, the shield of the Earl of Mar, or the axes with which Anne Boleyn, and the Earl of Essex, Elizabeth's favourite, were beheaded : but for the authority of which we will not vouch, since, with respect to Anne Boleyn, Stowe assures us, that her head was severed from her body at one blow with a sword.

TOWER HILL.

The early history of the criminal jurisprudence of London presents many lamentable instances of the abuse of power, in which the laws were set at defiance, and violence usurped the seat of justice. The walls of the Tower have witnessed many a murder both within and without its precincts,—some in the secrecy of night, and others scarcely less culpable, when sanctioned by the mockery of legal process.

At what period Tower-hill was first fixed upon as a place for public executions, is by no means certain, but it does not appear to have been used as such until long after the fortress had become a state prison ; for we find that in the year 1196, William Fitz Osbert, who had been tried and condemned in the Tower, for “ seditiously moving the common people to seek liberty,” was drawn by the heels to the elms at Smithfield, and there hanged. A similar instance occurred in the year 1330, when Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, who had been imprisoned in the Tower, and “ condemned by his peers, and yet never brought before them,” was hanged on the common

gallows at Smithfield, where the king, who carried his resentment beyond death, ordered the body to be exposed for two days and two nights.

One of the earliest executions on Tower-hill appears to have been that of the accomplished Sir Simon de Burley, the tutor of Richard II., who was sent to the block in the year 1388. From this time, the quadrangle and green-yard within the Tower-hill were the places where state-prisoners generally suffered.

In 1495 Sir William Stanley, chamberlain to Henry VII., whom he had faithfully served, was beheaded for no other crime than that of having said, that "if he certainly knew Perkin Warbeck was the undoubted son and heir of King Edward IV. he would never fight or bear arms against him."

Henry VIII. had not long been seated on the throne before the axe on Tower-hill was employed; nor did he suffer it to rust during his reign. Had he, however, been guilty of no worse acts than that of sending Empson and Dudley to the scaffold, his name and memory had not been stained with guiltless blood. They were beheaded on the 18th of August, 1510, for arbitrary exactions and embezzlement of money under a commission of forfeitures. Several of their agents were set in the pillory on Tower-hill, with labels on their heads relating their crime; they were also compelled to ride through the city with their faces to the tail of the horse.

In the same reign, and at the same place, perished the Duke of Buckingham, sacrificed by Cardinal Wolsey; Fisher, bishop of Rochester, for denying the king's supremacy; Sir Thomas More, whose jokes on the scaffold are carefully recorded by biographers.

When, previous to his condemnation, he was examined on the subject of the oath of supremacy, he said, "it was acknowledged, if he answered one way, he would destroy his body, and if he replied the other, it would destroy his soul.

The king, as if determined to "spill blood enough," sent to the block Lord Rochford, the brother of Ann Boleyn, who two days before had suffered within the Tower, and four alleged accomplices of the queen's guilt. Several illustrious victims followed in the persons of the Marquis of Exeter, the Earl of Devonshire, Lord Montacute, and Sir Edward Nevil.

Lord Leonard Grey, deputy of Ireland, was executed for having connived at the escape of his nephew, Lord Dazey; Thomas Lord Cromwell, Thomas Seymour, lord high admiral, the Protector Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey, Sir Thomas Wyatt, and Thomas Duke of Norfolk, successively perished beneath the axe on Tower-hill.

During the reign of James I. the only execution on Tower-hill was that of Sir Gervas Elwas, who was lieutenant of the Tower, and one of the accomplices in the horrible murder of Sir Thomas Overbury within its walls. Sir Walter Raleigh, who was murdered against all principles of law, justice, or honour, did not suffer near the prison, where he had been confined for nearly fourteen years, but was executed in Old Palace-yard. The infamous Earl of Castlehaven here met a just punishment; and here also perished in the same manner, the Earl of Stafford, Sir Alexander Carew; Sir John Hobham and his son, Archbishop Laud, Mr. Love the minister, and Captain Brown

Bushel, who fell victims of the civil and religious feuds of the times.

Of the regicide judges on whom Charles II. revenged his father's death, Sir Henry Vane was the only one executed on Tower-hill; the others having undergone their sentence at Tyburn. The accomplished Earl of Strafford, and the patriotic Algernon Sidney, here paid their debt before nature had demanded it. Both Sidney and Lord William Russell, who was executed in Lincoln's-inn-fields, died like men, who knew themselves to be suffering not for their crimes but for their virtues.

The ill-fated attempt of the Duke of Monmouth to overturn the despotism of James II., which three years afterwards was accomplished, could scarcely be expected to be overlooked by a monarch who could not distinguish between the strength of a government founded on a people's love, and a reign of terror. When the unfortunate Duke was led to the scaffold on Tower-hill, he was attended by a very strong guard, on account of his known popularity. Englishmen are not, however, remarkable for sudden or violent ebullitions, and the victim was left to his fate,—nor did the bungling manner in which the executioner did his odious duty do more than excite feelings of pity for the victim. The executioner seemed to feel dismayed at his office, for, after giving three blows with his axe, on the neck of the unfortunate duke, who bore them all without moving any thing but his eyes, as if reproaching him, he threw down the fatal weapon, nor did he resume it until the sheriff by threats urged him to go on, and twice again

was his strength exerted ere the head was severed from the body.

The next individual who suffered on Tower-hill was Sir John Fenwick, who was detected in a plot to assassinate King William. He was executed in 1696.

Although some of the old maps of London represent a gallows on Tower-hill, and more than one historian relates, that there was one erected there, yet there are considerable doubts of the fact, for we invariably find that even prisoners in the Tower, when condemned to be hanged, were either taken to Smithfield or Tyburn; nor does it appear that there was any permanent scaffold on Tower-hill, for when Lord Griffin was sentenced to death for high treason, a scaffold was erected for his execution, which we are told remained some time in consequence of the queen having reprieved him, until a natural death released him from the Tower in 1709.

The rebellion of 1715 gave a few of the faithful adherents of the House of Stuart to the block, although, considering the extent of the treason, and the daring character of the individuals who were the principals in organizing it, no subdued insurrection was ever followed with greater clemency. Two Scots' Peers, who, among several others, had been taken, suffered on Tower-hill, the Earl of Derwentwater, and Lord Kenmure. The Earl of Nithisdale, ordered for execution, at the same time, escaped from the Tower in female apparel, through the excellent management of his wife. Sir Robert Walpole, who has been accused as a corrupt minister, declared, that 60,000*l.* was offered to him if he could save the life of the Earl of Derwentwater, but that he refused it.

The last executions on Tower-hill were those of Lord Balmerino and Lord Lovat, for the rebellion in 1745. Charles Ratchliffe, the brother of the Earl of Derwentwater, was a short time after executed on Little Tower-hill, for his share in the rebellion in 1715. The executions of Lords Balmerino and Lovat were attended by an immense concourse of spectators : the houses were filled from the ground-floor to the roof, and scaffolds were erected for those who chose to pay for beholding a sight from which humanity shrinks with horror. One of these scaffolds fell, when about twenty who were beneath it were killed, and a much greater number severely injured. A still more fatal accident occurred on this spot, in 1763. It was usual, during the early period of his late majesty's reign, to exhibit fireworks on the anniversary of his birth, in various parts of the metropolis, but particularly on Tower-hill. The assemblage on such occasions was always numerous, and this year it was immense ; when, by the excessive pressure of the crowd, the strong railing which surrounded the postern-wall gave way, and more than a hundred persons fell in, a depth of upwards of thirty feet. Of these, six were instantly killed, fourteen more survived only a few hours, and more than fifty others were severely bruised.

Few recollections of a pleasing nature are associated with Tower-hill, when even its amusements have been attended with such a catastrophe. Like Moor-fields and other open places, it was formerly much frequented by the idle and the mischievous ; and Lord Rochester no doubt selected it as a fit spot for his eccentric freak, when he exhibited on Tower-hill, as Alexander Bendo, an Italian mountebank.

THE POLICE OF THE METROPOLIS.

In a large metropolis such as London, the subordinate branch of the civil government, the Police, is of the utmost importance ; and where this is not well organized, the inhabitants go unprotected, and crimes pass unpunished. In France, the police system is supposed to have attained its greatest perfection ; but the domiciliary visits and the espionage that are there practised would not be permitted in this country, where it is the proud boast of every man, that "his house is his castle," and that "he cannot be punished but by the laws."

Poets, and Historians with poetical imaginations, have dwelt much on the age of Alfred, as exhibiting the very perfection of government. Dr. Johnson assures us that, in those days, "a single gaol would half the nation's prisoners contain," and then exclaims truly enough,

"Blest age : but ah !—how different from our own."

Different, indeed, it must have been if we are to believe some historians, who assert that bracelets were hung on the highway and remained unmolested !

If such was the case, England must have presented a singular contrast to the continent at the same period, for, according to Lupus of Ferrieres, the highways in the ninth century were so infested with robbers, that it became necessary for travellers to form themselves into companies or caravans, that they might be safe from their assaults. The numerous regulations made by Charles the Bold, in the same century, show the

frequency of these disorders ; indeed acts of violence had then become so common, that they were scarcely considered as criminal : and hence, the *centenarii* or inferior judges were required to take an oath, that they would neither commit any robbery themselves, nor shield such as were guilty of the crime.

But, without attempting to disparage the morality of our Saxon ancestors, it may not be too much to assert, that a state of barbarism, and a state of refined civilization, cannot fairly be contrasted ; and that had the identity of bracelets been as difficult to establish, and the facility of disposing of them been as great in the time of Alfred as at present, they would not long have remained on the highway to tempt the needy traveller, or the daring culprit.

But admitting that in the time of this great prince, our ancestors were

“ Honest as the Nature

“ Of man first made, ere fraud and vice were
fashion'd,”

It is certain, that as population and civilization advanced, the country, and particularly large cities, presented a very different picture, and that “ strict statutes and most biting laws” were necessary.

Of the municipal regulations of the city of London, from the time of Alfred to that of the conquest, historians are not very communicative ; but we learn that when Henry I. had abolished the obnoxious curfew, robbery and murders became frequent in the night. Hoveden, and Walter of Coventry, give us a lamentable picture of the metropolis at a period somewhat later. From these accurate historians

we learn, that in 1175, a brother of the Earl Ferrers was not only privily slain in London during the night, but that "it was then a common practice in the city, that an hundred or more in a company of young and old would make nightly invasions upon the houses of the wealthy, to the intent to rob them; and if they found any man stirring in the city within the night, they would presently murder him, in so much, that when night was come, no man durst venture to walk in the streets." From the same historians we learn, that among the burglars and assassins of this period, there was "a certain citizen of great consequence, credit, and wealth, surnamed John the Olde, who, when he could not acquit himself by the water ordeal, offered the king five hundred marks for his life."

At a still later period, it appears that robbery was so frequent, that even chivalry was tainted with it, for in the *Dictum de Kenilworth*, an act or decree, made in the fifty-first year of Henry III., there is a clause which enacts, that "knights and esquires, who are robbers, and among the principal robbers in wars and plunderings, if they have no lands, but have goods, shall pay half of their goods for their redemption, and find sufficient sureties henceforth, to keep the peace of the king and kingdom."

Intoxication also appears to have been an early vice in the metropolis, for Fitz Stephen, a native of London, who was not disposed to slander his fellow-citizens, after stating that "there is no city that hath more approved customs, either in frequenting churches, honouring God's ordinances, observing holidays, giving alms, entertaining strangers, and fulfilling con-

tracts," adds, "the only plagues are the intemperate drinking of foolish people, and the frequent fires."

But frequent as robbery and other outrages had become in the metropolis, it was not until the year 1253, that the protection of a nightly watch was thought of. To Henry III. we are indebted for this institution, and it was this monarch also who revived an old Saxon law, which is still partially in force, so far as relates to injuries committed by riotous assemblages, "that if any man chanced to be robbed, or by any means damnified by any thief or robber, he to whom the charge of keeping that county, city, or borough, chiefly appertained, where the robbery was done, should competently restore the loss."

The pageant or cavalcade of setting the "marching watch" has already been alluded to (vol. i. p. 142.) This marching watch, which was in addition to the standing watches, was dressed "all in bright harness," and traversed the principal streets in the city, to the extent of "3200 taylor's yards." The marching watch amounted to 2000 men, but in course of time, it got so relaxed in discipline, and so expensive to the city, that it was abolished by Henry VIII., and though afterwards revived by Edward VI., it soon sunk into disuse.

Although Henry VIII. had done much in reforming the police, and putting it on a better footing than it had previously been; yet, Elizabeth, who was not always to be restrained by existing enactments, took the advantage of some riots, to appoint "a provost martial, with sufficient authority to apprehend all such as should not be readily reformed and corrected by the ordinary officers of justice, and then without de-

lay, to be executed upon the gallows, by order of martial law." Nothing could be more summary than the process of the provost martial, Sir Thomas Welford, who rode through the city with a number of armed men, arrested all vagrants and idle persons, and five of these who were accused of a riot on Tower-hill, were condemned and executed on the spot where they had offended.

The martial law of Elizabeth was not long in force, and the police of the metropolis, without undergoing any very violent change, has ever since been improving, until it has attained its present state: which is so far from being considered perfect, that new regulations have very recently been made. The subject has of late years occupied much of the attention of parliament, and in the session of 1822, a select committee was appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the metropolis. The report of the committee contains many interesting details.

In the metropolis there are eight Police offices, independent of those of Guildhall and the Mansion-house in the city. At the Mansion-house the lord mayor presides; the Aldermen attend in rotation at Guildhall. In order to the convenience of the magistrates, the city is divided into two districts. All cases which occur eastward of King-street are taken to the lord mayor, and all cases to the westward are referred to the sitting alderman at Guildhall. The officers appointed to conduct the business of the police of the city, under the lord mayor and aldermen, are two marshals, at salaries of 500*l.* and 450*l.* a year; six marshalsmen receiving 130*l.* a year, each; and 1099 patrols, watchmen, constables, &c., the ex-

penses of which, in the year ending 1822, was 28,004*l.* per annum ; but as the returns were not complete, it is probable that it considerably exceeds that sum.

The number of parish constables, patrols, watchmen, &c. in the several parishes in the city of Westminster, and the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, within a circuit of five miles, is 2945 ; and the expense, so far as it was made out in the return to Parliament, in 1822, was 66,700*l.* 5*s.* making the whole number of local police in the metropolis 4044, independent of the horse and foot patrol, and the officers under the direction of the magistrates at the several police offices.

At each of these offices, of which that at Bow-street takes the precedence, there are three magistrates, two clerks, and eight officers, with the exception of the Thames police office, where, instead of the eight officers, there are seventeen surveyors, six land constables, and forty-five river constables, with six river surveyors, and twenty watermen employed above-bridge, and at Blackwall.

Under the superintendence of the chief magistrate at Bow-street, there are the horse patrol, mounted and dismounted ; the foot patrol, and a day patrol. The horse patrol was formed in the year 1805, in consequence of the frequency of highway robberies. It is stationed on the principal roads leading to the metropolis, and within a distance of twenty miles. The foot patrol was established in the time of Sir John Fielding, on account of the great number of footpad robberies : they were originally employed in traversing the principal roads within a distance of four miles from the metropolis ; but in

consequence of the great number of street robberies in 1821, it was deemed necessary to confine the exertions of the foot patrol within narrower limits, and to employ them in the streets of the metropolis, while a body of what is called "the dismounted patrol" was employed in the suburbs. Since that time, an active day patrol has been established, at the suggestion of the parliamentary committee, which has already proved of great service in preventing and detecting the more open depredations committed in this great city.

Numerous as the various branches of the police are, and great as the expense is at which it is maintained, it is yet susceptible of improvement ; not only in its general constitution, but in its details. In consequence of its being under the control of different and unconnected authorities, there is that want of union, which is necessary to a well regulated or complete system of police. It is also desirable, that the watchmen should be more efficient than they are at present. They are principally old men, or men, who on account of the small allowance for their nightly duties, are compelled to work in the day ; and thus they doze when they should possess the eyes of Argus, for

—————" Weariness
Can snore upon the flint, when resty sloth
Finds the down pillow hard."

STATE OF CRIME.

Nothing is more common than to talk of the good old times of our ancestors, who manifested equal regret that the good old times had passed long before they were born : and we might trace the same lamentation back-

ward from one generation to another, to the earliest formation of civilized society : hence, it may be inferred, that this *beau ideal* of perfection, the "good old times," never existed but in the imagination ; and, that vice and virtue, good and evil, in each age, are more equally balanced than is generally imagined. Moralists declaim against the increasing depravity of the times, and legislators add new penal laws to the statute book ; yet, if we refer back to our early history, we shall find the same catalogue of crimes prevailing : and although, in consequence of the increased population of the metropolis, and the inseparable evils attending a large community, crime and depredations may be more frequent, yet moral, humane, and benevolent institutions have increased in an equal proportion, and if vice abounds more in London than formerly, "grace abounds much more" also.

In our account of the Police, we have noticed the state of society, at different periods ; and it would not be difficult to prove, that there are few offences committed, at the present day, which were not frequent some centuries ago, except such as have arisen from the altered state of society. We might, indeed, go much further and assert, that when the police was not so well organized as at present, offences were of a much more flagrant character. What atrocities in the present age can be compared to those of "The Black Boy Alley gang," who so late as the reign of George II. were the terror of the whole city ? Hogarth, in one of his prints of the "Idle and Industrious Apprentices," has depicted one of the scenes of this gang, but even his faithful and powerful pencil has failed in giving a true picture of their diabolical deeds. The

gang occupied some miserable tenements in Black Boy-alley, Chick-lane, where the unwary were decoyed by means of depraved females, and when gagged, that they should give no alarm, the wretches dragged their victims to one of the depositories, like a lamb to the slaughter, and having robbed and murdered them, threw the dead bodies into the ditch. To so alarming an extent had this gang carried their atrocities, that government lent its aid to the ordinary police, by means of which the principal members of the gang were apprehended, and nineteen of them executed at one time.

Some years ago the metropolis was much alarmed by a person indiscriminately stabbing several females as he met them in the night; he was designated the monster, on account of the abhorrence with which his conduct was viewed. This crime has also, of late years, been frequent in Paris, where the offenders are called *piqueurs*; but the offence is not of modern date, for in the early part of the last century it was much more prevalent, and was practised by a set of miscreants, denominated *Mohawks*, who, in 1712, were suppressed by the government.

Street robberies, which have always been frequent in London, attained such a pitch in the autumn and winter of 1744, that government found it necessary to offer a large reward for their suppression. A sum of 100*l.* was given on the conviction of every person found guilty of murder, or assault, with any offensive weapon or instrument, with the intent to rob. Until government thus interfered, gangs of street robbers patrolled the streets with cutlasses and fire-arms, bid-

ding defiance to the police officers, several of whom they wounded.

During the last ten years, many valuable reports on the state of crime, in the metropolis, have been made by committees of the House of Commons, and much interesting information has thus been obtained. In one of these reports, it is stated, that there are houses in London where boys are taught how to pick pockets, and other knavish arts ; and that a slang language is used by the thieves and pickpockets, is known to every reader of a newspaper, as it has almost become necessary to learn this vulgar tongue, in order to read the police reports that are published. Schools for teaching thieves, and the use of slang language, are not, however, devices of modern times.

Stowe relates, that at the July sessions, in 1585, the magistracy devoted great attention to the discovery and suppression of houses frequented by thieves ; and that Fleetwood, the recorder to the lord treasurer, with others of the bench, discovered sixteen of these houses in London and Westminster, and two in Southwark. In one of these, an ale-house at Smart's quay, Billingsgate, kept by a person of the name of Wotton, " a gentleman born, and once a merchant of good credit, but fallen by time into decay," the art of cutting purses and picking pockets was taught scientifically. Wotton had a regular academy of vice, in which crime was as methodically taught as the mechanical arts. In order to give to the embryo pick-pocket the dexterity which was requisite, a pocket with counters, and a purse with silver, were suspended ; each of them was hung about with " hawk's bells," and a " little sacring bell" at the top. The pupil

was taught to take out the counters and the silver without disturbing the bells, and when he was enabled to do this, he was deemed fit to commence his infamous profession, and was admitted into the association of *nyppers* and *foysters*, as the *cutpurses* and pickpockets were called. Hollinshed, who wrote at a still earlier period, notices the cant or slang language which was used in his day by the beggars. "In counterfeiting the Egyptian rogues, they have devised a language among themselves, which they name *canting*, a speech compact thirty years since of English, and a greate number of od words of their owne devising, without all order or reason, and yet such as none but themselves are to understand."

How little of novelty in crime then has the present generation to answer for? even blood-money conspirators, who, for the sake of getting the reward of 40*l.* for the conviction of any offender, accuse him falsely, were known so far back as the reign of Edward III., as appears by a statute of that monarch, which complains, that "great damage and destruction" did often happen by "sheriffs, jailors, and keepers of prisons, within franchises and without, who have pained their prisoners, and, by such evil means, compelled and procured them to become appellors, and to appeal harmless and guiltless people, to the intent to have ransom of such appealed persons, for fear of imprisonment or other cause."

The most apparent increase of crime in the metropolis, is in the number of juvenile offenders, and it is lamentable to see the depravity which prevails even among children. The Hon. H. Grey Bennett, in his evidence before the police committee, gives an ac-

count of a boy, of the name of Leary, which exhibits a melancholy instance of the progress of crime. This boy, though not more than thirteen years of age, had been a practised thief for five years, during which time he had robbed to the amount of 3000*l*. He commenced with stealing an apple from a stall, and proceeded through every gradation of theft to highway robbery and house-breaking, until he was capitally convicted for the latter, and transported for life.

The parliamentary reports contain several statistical documents, exhibiting the comparative state of crime, at different periods, in London. The returns do not, however, go further back than the year 1749, and only relate to the capital convictions, which have become more numerous, as the criminal code has been augmented. Crime changes its character according to circumstances. Formerly, when gold was the entire circulating medium, the capital convictions were principally for highway robbery; during the paper age, when cash had almost vanished, and nothing but bank notes were circulated, forgery was the prevailing crime; and, of the twenty-one persons who were executed in 1818, nine suffered for forgery; but the parliamentary return will best exhibit the state of crime in the metropolis.

It appears, that in the year 1818, 2,665 persons, charged with criminal offences, were committed to the different gaols in the cities of London and Westminster, and the county of Middlesex, of whom 2,108 were males and 557 females. Of these 1,667 were convicted, 551 were acquitted, and against 447, either no bills were found, or the prosecution was abandoned. Of the persons convicted, 201 received sentence of

death, 21 of whom were executed, 98 were transported beyond seas for life, and 114 for fourteen years; 512 were sentenced to transportation for seven years; 619 to be imprisoned for various terms of from six months to two years; 30 were condemned to be whipped, and 93 were fined.

Several estimates have been made of the amount of the various depredations committed annually in the metropolis, but any thing like accuracy is unattainable. The following calculation on the subject, which was made about twenty years ago, is, probably, as nearly correct as such an estimate can be made.

Small thefts	£710,000
Thefts on rivers and quays.....	500,000
In dock-yards, &c. on the Thames ..	300,000
Burglaries, highway robberies, &c. ..	220,000
Coining base money	200,000
Forging bills, swindling, &c.....	70,000
	<hr/>
	£2,000,000

Amongst the small thefts are included pewter pots, stated at £55,000 annually.

MENDICITY—ST. GILES'.

Idleness is so much the parent of vice, that the Spaniards have a proverb, that the devil tempts every man but the idle man, and he tempts the devil. It is certainly the parent of poverty and mendicity, and has, in many ancient states, been punished as a crime in itself. In China, where the produce of the soil, when actively cultivated, is not more than sufficient to support the inhabitants, it is held as a maxim, that if there

be a man who does not work, or a woman that is idle, in the empire, some person must suffer cold or hunger. The Court of Areopagus at Athens punished idleness with severity, and exercised the inquisitorial power of examining every citizen as to the way in which he spent his time; the English magistrate is armed with similar authority, and may commit to prison, as rogues and vagabonds, those who have no visible means of gaining an honest livelihood.

The metropolis has ever been the grand resort for mendicants, and the *point d'appui*, whence their ramifications extend over the whole empire. So early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the beggars were an organized body, and so daring, that they once beset her majesty, when riding out to Islington, and alarmed her very much. The lord mayor and recorder were acquainted with the circumstance, and the next day seventy-four of them were apprehended, "whereof," says Strype, "some were blind, and yet great usurers, and very rich." He adds, that the recorder met the governor of Bridewell; and "they examined together all the abovesaid seventy-four rogues, and gave them substantial payment." The beggars, though checked, were not suppressed, and, some years after, the queen issued a proclamation against them, in which the lord mayor, and the other civil officers, were enjoined to apprehend all beggars found within three miles of the metropolis, and to remove them to their respective parishes.

Although the Savoy and the brick-kilns near Islington are stated, in Seymour's Survey, to have been the "chief allurers" of the rogues and vagabonds of this time, yet it is certain, that from a very early period

the parish of St. Giles' has been the grand resort of beggars, as it is at the present day. Strype supposes them to have chosen this spot on account of its being near the court, which they used frequently to annoy with petitions.

It appears, by the parish book of St. Giles', that, in the time of James I. and Charles I., the beggars had become so numerous, that an assistant beadle was appointed, with a salary of 40*l.* a year, and a particular dress, in order to prevent their increase in the parish. The beggars are described as "new comers, under sitters, and cellar mates, dwellers in straight places, lodgers in divided tenements," &c., and by the entries of the relief given to some of them, they appear to have been known only by some cant or nick-name.—"Tottenham-Court Meg" and "Mad Bess" had a shilling each, whilst to "Olde Gray, the blind poet," and the "ballat-singing cobbler," an additional sixpence was awarded.

Dyott Street seems to have been "ordained of old" as the point where the London beggars principally congregated. A living writer (Mr. Hazlitt) says, the whole range of property which forms it, as well as the neighbourhood, were left by a Sir Thomas Dyott, in the reign of Charles II., "on the sole and express condition, that it should be appropriated entirely to that sort of buildings, and to the reception of that sort of population, which still keeps undivided possession of it." This Dyott Street, so long a sink of poverty and vice, has, of late years, been called George Street, a circumstance which the writer just quoted considers as an indirect forfeiture of the estate. In what way Sir Thomas Dyott left

the property is not stated, but it is certain, that the classes for whom it was intended, derived no further benefit from the bequest, than that the most wretched of them might know "where to lay his head," if he had the means of paying for it, and not otherwise.

Dyott Street was, a few centuries ago, a part of those fields extending nearly to the court of St. James', in which the church of St. Giles' stood. The field was called Maidenhead Close, and the first row of houses called Maidenhead Row, where the principal inn in the parish long stood. In the reign of Charles II. Richard Dyott built a regular street, to which he gave his name, and he and his descendants long occupied the principal house. Buckridge and Bainbridge, two other builders, added streets, which still retain their names.

Little alteration seems to have taken place as to the character of mendicity in London. Hollinshed describes the beggars in his time as persons that "stray and wander about as creatures abhorring all labour and every honest exercise;" and the tricks they resorted to, in order to excite pity, are as ingenious as those of the mendicants of the nineteenth century. "Some," says he, "more sturdy than the rest, and having sound and perfect limbs, do counterfeit the possession of all diseases. Others, in their apparel, are like serving men and labourers. Oftentimes they can plaie the mariner, and seek for ships they never lost." Their number, too, must have been immense, in proportion to the population of London in the time of Hollinshed, if he is correct when he estimates them at 10,000.

Mendicity of late years reached to such a pitch,

that it was deemed worthy to occupy the attention of the legislature ; and, in 1820, a select committee of the house of commons was appointed to collect evidence on the subject. From this report it appears, that the beggars in London amounted, at least, to 15,000, who did not get less, on an average, than from five to eight shillings a day. Some of them were known to make eighteen or twenty shillings a day ; and it was ascertained, that a blind man and a dog got thirty shillings daily. Though living in the most wretched apartments, many of them spend at least fifty shillings a week for their board. Some of the more prudent save considerable sums of money ; and a negro is known to have returned to the West Indies with a fortune of 1,500*l.*, which he had made by begging in London.

Among the various means to which beggars resort, a common and a very successful one is that of going about with children, who are regularly let out on hire to beggars, for the purpose of exciting pity, at sixpence, a shilling, or even half-a-crown a day by the unfeeling parents. A woman with twins is known to have sat for ten years in one particular spot, although the twins never got older, there being a constant succession of them of the same age or size.

The London beggars are well organized, and have particular walks, which are considered their peculiar property, and are disposed of like a news walk or a milk walk. Advertisements have even sometimes appeared in the papers, offering them for sale. But though the parish of St. Giles' abounds in beggars, particularly that part of it which is called the " Holy Land" and " Little Dublin," on account of the num-

ber of Irish who reside there, yet there are some persons honestly employed, even in the humblest walks of industry. The lower class of the population consists, in a great measure, of Irish labourers, market women, many of whom, not having a basket, pay ninepence a week for one which does not cost half-a-crown ; and three shillings a week for a wheel-barrow, that they might purchase for twelve : there are, also, a great number of fruit women, with ballad singers and beggars.

St. Giles' is the great manufactory of matches, whence the shops are supplied with them wholesale, and through this medium they are sold to the vagrants, who retail them in the street. An expert match maker will fabricate fifty dozen bunches, or about 9000 matches in a day.

Of the inhabitants of the "Holy Land" there is, at least, a floating population of 1000 persons who have no fixed residence, and who hire their beds for the night in houses fitted up for the purpose. Some of these houses have fifty beds each, if such a term can be applied to the wretched materials on which they sleep : the usual price is sixpence for a whole bed, or fourpence for half a one ; and behind some of the houses there are cribs littered with straw, where the wretched may sleep for threepence. In one of the houses seventeen persons have been found sleeping in the same room, and these consisting of men and their wives, single men, single women, and children. Several houses frequently belong to one person, who thus lets them out, and more than one lodging house keeper has amassed a handsome fortune by the mendicants of St. Giles'. The furniture of the houses

is of the most wretched description, and no persons, but those who are sunk in vice, or are draining the cup of misery to its very dregs, could frequent them. In some of the lodging houses breakfast is supplied to the lodgers, and such is the avarice of the keeper, that the very loaves are made of a diminutive size, in order to increase his gains, and the candles, with which each poor creature is lighted to his dormitory, are made expressly for the purpose, and so minute, that a member of the British house of commons, distinguished for his philanthropy, and for the zeal with which he "inquires the wretched out," assured the writer, that there were two hundred and forty candles in each pound, or forty candles, each of which was divided into six parts. Yet amidst so much wretchedness, there is much of wanton extravagance; and those who have traversed the purlieus of the "Holy Land," on a Saturday night, must have felt convinced, that the money squandered away in dissipation would have procured much daily comfort both in bed and board. But the extravagance of beggars is proverbial, and an anecdote is related of old Alderman Calvert going in disguise to one of their suppers, and being much alarmed at their ordering an "alderman in chains," until he learnt from the landlord, that it was but another name for a turkey and sausages.

BRIDEWELL HOSPITAL.

"Look into London," said a writer of the age of Queen Elizabeth, "what hospitals are there founded in the Gospel time? The poor, indeed relieved, youth godly brought up, and the idle set to work.

Well worthy Bridewell -therefore, for it is a good school." The recollection of Mendicity almost involuntarily associates itself with Bridewell in this metropolis, since the latter was one of the first institutions formed with a view to relieve and suppress the former.

The site on which Bridewell hospital is built was anciently occupied by a royal palace, which must have been built long anterior to the time of William the Conqueror, as during the reign of that monarch it was so much dilapidated, that he gave some of its materials towards the rebuilding of St. Paul's. Henry I. despoiled it for the same purpose, but the palace still remained, and was long a royal residence. Cardinal Wolsey, who built as well as occupied royal palaces, resided here in 1552; and when the Emperor Charles announced his intention of visiting England, Henry VIII., with a celerity unusual in those days, had it taken down and rebuilt for that sovereign's reception, in the course of six weeks. For some reason, which is not recorded, his imperial majesty did not reside in the palace, and it was appropriated to the officers of his suite. The emperor took up his abode in a large house on the opposite side of the Fleet Ditch, over which a gallery was thrown, that communicated between the emperor's house and the Bridewell palace.

Although historians relate, that the palace was rebuilt in a magnificent manner, yet this seems doubtful, as in the succeeding reign Bishop Ridley, in a letter to Sir William Cecil, secretary to Edward VI., describes it as a wide, large, empty house, "that would wonderfully well serve to lodge Christ in, if he

might find such good friends in the court to procure in his cause." The pious bishop says, many lie in the streets "both hungry, naked, and cold," that the citizens were willing to refresh them, but they lacked lodging; and he adds, as the climax to the misery he paints, that "in some one house, I dare say, they are fain to lodge three families under one roof." Had the good bishop lived at the present day, he would not have deemed three families living under one roof so great a hardship.

The king granted the petition, and the house from that time has been employed "for the correction and punishment of idle vagrant people, and for setting them to work, that they might, in an honest way, take pains to get their own livelihood."

Bridewell is one of the royal hospitals which Edward VI. endowed with 700 marks of land, formerly belonging to the Savoy, which had been suppressed. It is at present used as a house of correction for the dissolute, as a refuge for the destitute, and as a manufactory for the industrious.

THE TREAD MILL.

As the theory of prison discipline becomes better understood, the mode of punishing offenders will be less repugnant to feeling, though equally conducive to the great object—reformation. Among other improvements, it has been discovered, that to the indolent no punishment is so severe as hard labour; and modern engineers have been employed on the best means of compelling prisoners to work. For this purpose a machine has been invented, called the

tread-mill, which has obtained unprecedented notoriety, and been adopted in several prisons in London, and various parts of the country. It resembles the fabled punishment of Sisyphus, who was compelled to the interminable labour of rolling to the top of a hill a large stone, which no sooner reached the summit than it fell down, and his labour was to be renewed. In the tread-mill, the prisoners ascend an endless flight of stairs, and by their combined weight acting upon a stepping board, produce the same effect that a stream of water does upon a water-wheel. Although the latter might very easily have suggested the tread-mill, yet it was boasted as a new invention, until it was discovered to be but an adaptation of the Chinese tread-mill, which is used for the purpose of raising water.

The tread-mill is not, however, new even as an instrument of prison discipline; but has been used in England two centuries and a half ago, though the circumstance has escaped all who have written on the subject. The tread-mill of the sixteenth century had indeed an advantage over that of the present day; it was a combination of the tread-mill and the hand-crank-mill, which has been suggested as its substitute by Sir John Cox Hippisley, as less prejudicial to the health.

In Seymour's "Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster," a work said to have been written by John Mottley, the son of Colonel Mottley, there is a description of this mill so explicit, that there was no necessity to adopt the idea from the Chinese, when we had it so much nearer home. "In the time of Queen Elizabeth," says the writer, "about the

year 1570 and odd, one John Pain, a citizen, invented a mill to grind corn, which he got recommended to the Lord Mayor for the use of Bridewell. This mill had two conveniences; the one was, that it would grind a greater quantity considerably than other mills of that sort could do; and the other (which would render it useful to Bridewell) was, that the lame, either in arms or legs, might work at it, if they had but use of either; and, accordingly, these mills were termed hand-mills, or foot-mills.

“ This mill he shewed to the Lord Mayor, who saw it grind as much corn, with the labour of two men, as they did then at Bridewell with ten—that is to say, two men with hands, or two men with feet, two bushels the hour. If they were lame in their arms, then they might earn their livings with their legs; if lame in their legs, then they might earn their livings with their arms. One mill would grind twenty bushels of wheat in a day; so that by computation it was reckoned, that one of these would supply a thousand persons.”

From this account of the tread-mill of the sixteenth century it will be seen, that, considering the rude state of the mechanical arts at the period, Mr. Pain must have been a mechanist of more than ordinary ingenuity.

REMARKABLE CONFLAGRATIONS.

The observation of Seneca, that *una dies interest inter magnam Civitatem et nullam*, has been more than once fatally realized in London, where the conflagration of a day has destroyed the work of ages. The

obstinacy with which the inhabitants continued to build their houses of wood, in defiance of municipal injunctions and royal commands, has been stated in a preceding article (vol. i. p. 118), nor was it until the great fire of 1666, that any decided improvement in building took place, calculated to render fires less frequent and less destructive.

The first fire in London we find noticed is by the Iceni under Boadicea, who laid Colchester, St. Albans, and London, waste by fire and the sword. In the years 764, 798, and 801, London suffered severely from conflagration, particularly in 798, when the city was almost burnt down, and several of the inhabitants perished in the flames. In 982, a fire accidentally took place, which nearly destroyed the whole city; but, according to the Saxon Chronicle, "the greatest casual fire that till this time befel the city" was in 1077, "when the greatest part of it was laid in ashes."

The spirit of building must, however, have been pretty active even at this period, for we find the city rebuilt, and a prey to a still greater fire in the year 1086, which Stowe says, "spread over almost all the principal cities of England: the church of St. Paul's, in London, was burnt, with the most part of the citie, which fire began at the entry of the west gate, and consumed to the east gate." Another fire in 1090, destroyed a considerable part of the city; which in 1135 again fell a prey to the flames. This fire began near London Stone, and burnt eastward as far as Aldgate, and westward to St. Paul's. The fire of 1212 has already been noticed in the account of London Bridge. In 1232 and 1483, London was

visited with fires ; in the latter, which began at Lead-hall, Stow says, " much housing was burnt, and all the stocks for guns, and other like provision, belonging to the city."

Of the Great Fire of London, as it was called, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter : there have, however, since that period been some serious conflagrations in London, particularly the fire in Thames Street on the 15th of January, 1715, when upwards of 120 houses, and an immense quantity of merchandize, were destroyed. This calamity was aggravated by the death of more than fifty persons, who perished in the flames, and by other accidents.

On the 25th of March, 1748, a most destructive fire broke out at a peruke-maker's shop in Change Alley, Cornhill, which continued for twelve hours, and totally destroyed nearly a hundred houses, twenty of which were in Cornhill. Mr. Eldridge, his wife, children, and servants, all perished in the flames, and several other persons were killed by various accidents. The loss occasioned by this fire was estimated at 200,000*l*.

On the 7th of November, 1765, a fire broke out in the house of a peruke-maker in Bishopsgate Street, which destroyed or greatly injured a hundred houses. All the houses from Cornhill to the church of St. Mary Outwich, in Bishopsgate Street, were burnt down : as was the White Lion Tavern, which had been purchased only on the preceding evening for 3000*l*. ; several persons were killed by the fire, and by the falling of chimnies ; and the next day, a gentleman, thinking that some persons were buried among the ruins, got the firemen to work with their

pick axes, when, on removing the rubbish, they drew out two men, three women, a child about six years old, two cats, and a dog, all alive.

During the riots of 1780, the King's Bench, Fleet, and Bridewell prisons were set on fire, as well as several houses in various parts of the metropolis. In 1793, on the 2d of December, an extensive range of warehouses, near Hermitage Bridge, Wapping, was destroyed by fire, together with several adjoining houses. Three vessels lying in the dock were also burnt. The goods destroyed consisted principally of sugar, rum, and hemp. Of the sugar, 1400 casks were melted into one mass by the intense heat, and flowed through the streets in a brilliant stream of liquid fire."

But the greatest conflagration known in London since 1666 was the fire in Ratoliff, which broke out at Cock Hill, on the 23rd of July, 1794. It was caused by the boiling over of a pitch kettle at a boat builder's, from whose warehouses it communicated to a barge laden with saltpetre and other stores, and thence extended to several other vessels. The warehouses of the East India Company were also consumed, and nothing could arrest the progress of the destructive element, until, having reached an open space of ground towards Stepney, the flames ceased for want of materials. It was calculated, that out of 1200 houses of which the hamlet consisted, not more than 570 were left standing.

A calamity so sudden and so fatal called for the immediate and the liberal aid of both the government and the public, and it was freely given: a hundred and fifty tents were forwarded from the Tower, and

pitched in a vacant piece of ground near Stepney church. Provisions were supplied, in the first instance, by the parish to the poor sufferers. A subscription was opened at Lloyd's Coffee-house for their relief, and several gentlemen, who attended near the ruins to solicit the assistance of the benevolent, were so successful, that on the Sunday immediately after the fire upwards of 800*l.* was thus collected, of which 426*l.* was in copper, including thirty-eight pounds, fourteen shillings, in farthings; exhibiting a singular instance how universal the feelings of sympathy and benevolence must have been. The whole sum subscribed in various ways for the relief of the sufferers was more than 16,000*l.*

Several other fires, which have done considerable damage to various parts of the metropolis, have occurred, but those above noticed are the principal ones. The more substantial and less inflammable nature of materials used in building—the width of the streets, the regulation of the building act as to party-walls, and the more ready supply of water, are all guarantees that London will never again be visited with those calamities, which have laid it in ashes, in the course of a few hours. The fires in London have more frequently originated in accident than design; and so convinced was the legislature of this, that in the act of 1708 it was enacted, “that every servant by whose negligence or carelessness a fire should be occasioned, should forfeit 100*l.*, or, in default, be imprisoned and kept to hard labour during eighteen months.”

The frequency and alarming extent of the conflagrations in London has induced men of science to

turn their attention to the best means of preventing fire, or of extinguishing it when it has commenced, by a more rapid process than the use of water. The experiments made by Earl Stanhope and Mr. Hartley to form indestructible buildings were ingenious, and, in some degree, successful ; but the plan is too expensive, and not well adapted to a metropolis, which must still rest its greatest security on the care and attention of the inhabitants, and the vigilance of its police.

The idea of extinguishing flames by chemical preparations appears to have first originated in Sweden. In the year 1734, the states of that kingdom offered a premium of 20,000 crowns for the best method of stopping the progress of accidental fires, when Mr. Fuches, a German physician, made a preparation for that purpose, which was tried on a house, built on purpose of dry fir, at Legard Island, and stored with tubs of pitch and tar, chips, &c., all of which were set on fire. The flames were issuing through the top of the house, windows, &c., when Mr. Fuches threw in one of the barrels, containing his preparation, which immediately quenched the flames ; a second barrel entirely cleared the smoke away. The experiment had thus terminated satisfactorily ; but just as the inventor was about to return home, the flames broke out again, in consequence, as was believed, of some malicious person having introduced a quantity of combustible matter, and set fire to it. The mob then fell upon the poor physician, and beat him so unmercifully, that he narrowly escaped with his life : he soon after left the country that so ungratefully rewarded his services.

Similar attempts have been made in England. Of these, the most successful was that of Mr. Godfrey, whose experiment was tried in London on the 19th of May, 1761, before their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York, Prince William Henry, Prince Henry Frederick, and a great number of the nobility as well as of the learned world. The house erected for the purpose near Mary-la-Bonne was of brick, with three rooms one above another, a staircase, chimney, lath and plaister ceilings, and a wainscoting round the rooms of rough deal. At 12 o'clock, the ground room, which was furnished with faggots and shavings, was set on fire: three of the machines, charged with phlogistic and anti-phlogistic materials, were thrown in, which by almost immediate explosions entirely extinguished the flames, and even the smoke in the room soon disappeared. The experiment was then tried in the second room with the same effect, though the spectators, who were supposed to amount to 20,000, were dissatisfied until the third experiment, which was quite successful, excited universal approbation.

Several experiments, of a similar nature, have been made of late years, but with less success; and the suppression of fires is still left to its opposite element, which, through the activity of the Insurance Offices, is generally administered with great promptitude.

THE GREAT FIRE OF 1666.

Whether the fire of 1666, which, by way of distinction from all other calamities of a similar nature,

is designated the Great Fire of London, originated in accident or design, is a point on which historians by no means agree, though all concur in representing it as more destructive in its progress, and ultimately productive of more beneficial effects, than any conflagration recorded in history. Never was there perhaps a more striking proof, that partial evil is universal good.

It is the opinion of more than one old writer, that the fire was almost necessary to promote the complete extinction of the plague, which had the year before dealt desolation with such an unsparing hand in the metropolis, that the very air had become tainted with the putrefaction of the dead; we are far from thinking this to have been the case, but it is not too much to infer, that had it not been for some such calamity as the great fire, London might long have suffered by that dreadful scourge of humanity, which its crowded streets, by confining the circulation of the air, and the want of cleanliness on account of the scanty supply of water, seemed so well calculated to promote.

It is true that a city was destroyed, and property to an unparalleled amount was lost; but the result was, a new city, improved in wealth, grandeur, and all the conveniences of life, which otherwise would not have been obtained for ages: and however fatal the calamity must have been to the age in which it happened, it has been productive of the most lasting benefits on posterity.

The great fire broke out at one o'clock on Sunday morning, on the 2nd of September, 1666, at a baker's house, kept by a person of the name of Farryner, in

Padding Lane, near Fish Street Hill. This part of the town is now very confined, but it was much more so at the time of the fire, when the neighbourhood consisted of nothing but narrow lanes and passages, and the houses were principally of wood, or lath and plaster. The fire soon spread to the adjacent houses, and defied the power of buckets, for the engines could not be brought to bear upon it with any degree of success, on account of the narrowness of the streets. It was then suggested to the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Bludworth, who arrived on the spot at three o'clock in the morning, that it would be adviseable to pull down several houses, in order to intercept the progress of the flames, but he refused to allow of so prudent a measure, and is said to have expressed his opinion of the insignificance of the fire in flippant and indelicate terms. By eight o'clock in the morning it had reached London Bridge, "and there dividing, left enough to burn down all that had been erected on it since the last great fire in 1633, and with the main body pressed forward into Thames Street," which was charged with combustible materials that augmented it very considerably, raging with great fury the whole day, and striking the inhabitants with such terror, that, says Lord Clarendon, "all men stood amazed as spectators, only no man knowing what remedy to apply, nor the magistrates what orders to give." And the amiable Evelyn, who has left a most nervous and unaffected narrative of this great calamity, says, "the conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonished, that from the beginning I know not by what despondency or fate, they hardly stirred to quench it, so that there was

nothing heard or seen but crying out and lamentation, running about like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods, such a strange consternation there was upon them."

The fire, which at first took an easterly direction, proceeded so rapidly, that considerable fears were entertained it would reach the Tower, to prevent which several houses were pulled down: but the fire, which had raged in a "bright flame" in that direction all Monday, was in the night directed to other quarters. The wind changed, and blew with "so great and irresistible violence, that it scattered the fire from pursuing the line that it was in with all its force, and spread it over the city, so that they who went late to bed, at a great distance from any place where the fire prevailed, were awakened before morning with their own houses being in a flame." On Monday, Gracechurch Street, and part of both Lombard Street and Fenchurch Street, were in flames; the fire then was burning in the form of a bow; "a dreadful bow it was," says the Rev. T. Vincent, in his work, *God's Terrible Voice in the City*, "such as mine eyes never had before seen; a bow which had God's arrow in it, with a flaming point; it was a shining bow, not unlike that in the cloud, which brings water with it, and, withal, signifies God's covenant not to destroy the world any more with water; but it was a bow which had fire in it, signifying God's anger, and his intention to destroy London by fire."

When the first panic was over, and the fire spread so rapidly, that no person could calculate on the safety of his house, great exertions were made to remove the property into the adjacent fields, which, for

many miles round, were strewed with all sorts of moveables. Five, ten, and even fifty pounds were given for a cart, to remove some valuable property about to be consumed—the boats and barges on the river were all laden; and “scarcely a back, either of man or woman, that had strength, but had a burden on it in the street.”

The night of Monday was more dreadful than the preceding one; the fire shone with such a fearful blaze, that the streets were as light as the sun at noon-day. After spreading, in one line, westward, along the banks of the Thames, as far as Queenhithe, and in a parallel direction along Cornhill to the Royal Exchange, and northward to Dowgate and Watling Street, it divided itself into four branches, which united in one great flame at the eastern end of Cheapside: on Tuesday the whole of that street was in flames, and the fire was seen “leaping from house to house, and street to street, at great distance one from the other.” The impetuous flames now advanced with lawless power to the Cathedral of St. Paul’s; “the stones of which,” says Evelyn, “flew like granaðos, mealting lead running downe the streetes in a streame, and the very pavements glowing with a fiery rednesse, so as no horse nor man was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopped all the passages, so that no help could be applied.” The neighbouring streets shared the same fate, and the writer just quoted, draws a vivid feature of the appalling scene: “Oh the miserable and calamitous spectacle!” he exclaims, “such as haply the world had not seene the like since the foundation of it, nor be outdone till the universal conflagration. All the skie

was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, the light seene above forty miles round about for many nights. God grant my eyes may never behold the like, now seeing above ten thousand houses all in one flame; the noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses, and churches, was like an hideous storme, and the aire all about so hot and inflamed, that at last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forced to stand still and let the flames burn on, which they did for neere two miles in length and one in bredth. The clouds of smoke were dismall, and reached, upon computation, neere fifty miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoone burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. London was, but is no more."

But the devouring element was not yet satiated, and on Tuesday night it continued its destructive havoc, sweeping away Ludgate Hill, the Old Bailey, the whole of Fleet Street, and the Inner Temple, and threatening even the Court at Whitehall, which now began to be alarmed, and gave directions to blow up several houses with gunpowder—a plan which, if adopted at the commencement of the fire, when it was suggested by some seamen, might have saved half the city; but this "some tenacious and avaricious men, aldermen, &c. would not permit, because their houses must have been of the first."

On Wednesday morning, when the inhabitants of Westminster and the suburbs were preparing to flee from the flaming sword which seemed to pursue them, the wind was hushed, the fire was stayed, and a rem-

nant of London was saved. The first effectual check that the fire encountered was the brick buildings of the Temple, which were only partially consumed, and although the fire broke out again here on the Thursday evening, the Duke of York, who watched there the whole of that night, caused the houses in front of it to be blown up, by which means the flames were extinguished.

To aggravate the ruin and distress in which the citizens were involved by the loss of their houses and their property, the most alarming reports were spread. It was rumoured, that persons had been taken with fire balls and matches, in the act of attempting to set fire on the city in other places. This so enraged the multitude, that they killed a poor woman who had something concealed in her apron, which they conceived to be fire balls, and wounded several other persons, particularly French and Dutch, against whom they felt very indignant. A more alarming rumour was circulated on the Wednesday night; when the inhabitants were lying in tents in the neighbouring fields, it was reported, that "the French were coming armed against them to cut their throats, and spoil them of what they had saved out of the fires." Despair roused the citizens, and fired with indignation, they prepared to defend themselves; but morning dispelled their uneasiness, and brought with it the joyous prospect that the fire was subdued, and that no new calamity threatened them.

Nothing could exceed the zeal and activity of the King and the Duke of York during the whole of the dreadful scene: they traversed the city night and day, encouraging the labourers, where they thought

there was the slightest chance of arresting the progress of the flames, and personally directing every measure for that purpose; to this energy, and to a corresponding vigilance on the part of the magistracy and the train bands, must be attributed the circumstance, that so few lives were lost, and so few outrages committed.

Never since the destruction of Rome by Nero, had a city been so nearly annihilated by fire; the extent of its ravages covered a space of 436 acres;—the boundaries of the destructive element are fixed in the official account of the fire, which appeared in the London Gazette of the 10th of September, where it is stated, that a stop was put to it at “the Temple Church, near Holborn Bridge, Pye Corner [Smithfield, see vol. i. p. 43.] Aldersgate, Cripplegate, near the lower end of Colman Street, at the end of Basinghall Street, by the postern at the upper end of Bishopsgate Street and Leadenhall Street, at the standard in Cornhill, at the church in Fenchurch Street, near Clothworker’s Hall in Mincing Lane, at the middle of Mark Lane, and at the Tower Dock.”

In the British Museum there are forty-one folio volumes of the Decisions of the Commissioners on the claims of the persons who had suffered by the fire, but they do not furnish any account of the aggregate loss, nor could it, indeed, be very accurately ascertained. The inscription on the monument, founded on the reports of the surveyors, states that of the six and twenty wards, it utterly destroyed fifteen, and left eight others shattered and half burnt; that it consumed 400 streets, 13,200 dwelling houses, 89 churches, besides chapels, four of the city gates, the

Guildhall, with several public buildings, hospitals, schools, libraries, and a vast number of stately edifices.

In a tract, printed in the Harleian Miscellany, there is an estimate of the value of the property destroyed, in which the number of houses is calculated at 12,000; they are valued, one with another, at 25*l.* per ann., which, at twelve years' purchase, make the whole amount to 3,600,000*l.* The cathedral, the churches, and other public buildings, are valued at 1,800,000*l.*; the personal property and goods at a similar sum; 20,000*l.* in wharfs; and 150,000*l.* in boats and barges, cart loads of furniture, &c.; making in the whole 7,370,000*l.*: but it is supposed, that this calculation is much too low, and that the property destroyed could not be less than ten millions sterling. In our account of the Stationers' Company, (vol. i. p. 344.) the very serious losses sustained by that body by the fire have been stated; but great as the calamity was, and convinced as the citizens were, that it had been the work of incendiaries, yet they bore it with patience and resignation, and thought only of repairing their loss and restoring the city, which they did so successfully, that Burnet says: "to the amazement of all Europe, London was, in four years time, re-built with so much beauty and magnificence, that we, who saw it in both states, before and after the fire, cannot reflect on it, without wondering where the wealth could be found to bear so vast a loss as was made by the fire, and so prodigious an expense as was laid out in re-building the city."

It is very remarkable, that during the whole time of the fire, and amidst all the alarm and confusion it

occasioned, not more than six persons perished, and those principally by venturing incautiously over the ruins ; nor do the bills of mortality appear to have been increased by the houseless condition to which so many thousands of persons were reduced, when compelled to live in huts erected in Smithfield, Finsbury, and Moorfields, and other places in the vicinity of the metropolis.

Although so indiscriminate and so dreadful an act of vengeance as that of destroying a whole city, can scarcely be supposed to be harboured by any human being, yet there is strong reason to believe, that the city was set on fire by incendiaries, and that in more places than one. The Roman Catholics have always stoutly denied it, and compare the accusation to that of Nero against the Christians, whom he charged with setting fire to Rome ; and Pope, knowing that an invective or an assertion is better recollected and lives longer in verse than prose, has, in two lines on the monument, declared, that the accusation against the Roman Catholics is false. If, however, the circumstances were to be decided according to the rules of circumstantial evidence, we believe it would be fully established, that the fire was not accidental.

Lord Clarendon, who certainly cannot be suspected of any illiberal prejudices, and would rather attribute the fire to chance than design, says, " the breaking out of the fire in several places, at so great distance from each other, made it evident, that it was by conspiracy and combination ;" that " it could not be conceived how a house, that was distant a mile from any part of the fire, could suddenly be in a flame without some particular malice ; and this case

fell out every hour." The noble author next alludes to Herbert, who was executed for the crime ; and although his examination was somewhat contradictory, yet his confession was sufficiently explicit ; for when he was taken by the committee to identify the place, he pointed out the site of the house where the fire commenced as that which he and his accomplices had set on fire. Even Lord Clarendon, who maintains Herbert's innocence, furnishes very strong proof of his guilt, in his account of his confession : he says, " the house, and all which were near it, were so covered and buried in the ruins, that the owners themselves, without some infallible mark, could very hardly have said where their own houses had stood ; but this man led them directly to the place, described how it stood, the shape of the little yard, the fashion of the door and windows, and where he first put the fire ; and all this with such exactness, that they who dwelt long near it could not so perfectly have described all particulars."

Farryner the baker, in whose house the fire originated, confidently asserts that it was set on fire ; but whether Herbert was really guilty or not, or was, as his advocates contend, insane, there is evidence which is more than presumptive, that the city was wilfully burnt ; it is not the deposition of prejudiced persons after the fire happened, but evidence that the design existed many months before it was carried into effect.

In the London Gazette, No. 48, for April the 30th, 1666, there is an account of the conviction at the Old Bailey sessions, of John Rathbone, " an old army colonel," and several others, for conspiring the death of his majesty, and the overthrow of the government ; and it states that " The better to effect this hellish design,

*the city was to have been fired, and the portcullis to have been let down to keep out all assistance ; the horse-guards to have been surprized in the inns where they were quartered, several ostlers having been gained for that purpose. The Tower was accordingly viewed, and its surprize ordered by boats over the moat, and from thence to scale the wall. One Alexander, who is not yet taken, had likewise distributed sums of money to these conspirators ; and, for the carrying on of the design more effectually, they were told of a council of the great ones that sate frequently in London, from whom issued all orders ; which council received their directions from another in Holland, who sate with the States ; and that the *third of September* was pitched on for the attempt, as being found, by Lillie's almanack and a scheme erected for that purpose, to be a LUCKY DAY, a planet then ruling, which prognosticated the downfall of monarchy."*

The account concludes with stating, that "the evidence against these persons was very full and clear, and they accordingly were found guilty of *High Treason*." There is certainly great mystery about the conduct of Herbert, but it is not likely that he would acknowledge himself guilty of a crime which involved such fatal consequences to himself if he was innocent, to say nothing of the collateral evidence which must be admitted to be pretty formidable if not decisive. Certainly the prejudices at the time were very strong against the Roman Catholics, and independently of the inscription on the Monument, the following was placed by authority on the house built on the site where the fire commenced ; but on account

of the number of persons it attracted to the spot, it was afterwards removed.

“ Here, by the permission of Heaven, hell broke loose upon this Protestant city, from the malicious hearts of barbarous Papists, by the hand of their agent Herbert; who confessed, and on the ruins of this place declared the fact for which he was hanged, viz. that here began the dreadful fire which is described and perpetuated on and by the neighbouring pillar, erected anno 1681, in the mayoralty of Sir Patience Ward, Knight.”

THE MONUMENT.

The Monument is a noble fluted column of the Doric order, and was erected rather to perpetuate the charge against the Roman Catholics of setting fire to the city, than as a memento of its destruction and restoration. The Monument, like all the public buildings of the period, was designed by Sir Christopher Wren. This column, which stands near Fish Street Hill, is 202 feet high, that being also the distance of its base from the spot where the fire commenced. The pedestal is forty feet high, and the plinth twenty-eight feet square; the shaft of the column is 120 feet high: it is hollow, and incloses a staircase of black marble, consisting of 345 steps, by which a balcony, within thirty-two feet of the top, is reached. The column is surmounted with an urn forty-two feet high, with flames issuing from it.

On three sides of the pedestal are inscriptions, and the fourth is occupied with a piece of sculpture allegorically representing the destruction and re-building of

the city. In one compartment the city appears in flames—the inhabitants, with outstretched arms, calling for succour—the insignia of the city laying thrown down and mutilated—while a female, wearing a civic crown and holding a sword, shews that the municipal authority was still maintained. The king, Charles II., occupies a conspicuous situation ; he is represented in a Roman habit, and is trampling under his feet Envy, which seeks to renew the calamity, by blowing flames out of its mouth. Near the sovereign are three females, representing Liberty, Imagination, and Architecture. Time is offering consolation to the distressed, and Providence gives assurance of peace and plenty. There are also several other figures, including Mars and Fortitude. The whole was executed by that eminent sculptor, Caius Gabriel Cibber.

The inscriptions on the pedestal are in Latin ; one of them details the great calamity, observing, “ that to the estates and fortunes of the citizens it was merciless, but to their lives very favourable, that it might, in all things, resemble the last conflagration of the world.” The second inscription records the activity with which, under the auspices and direction of the sovereign, the city was rebuilt. On the third side of the pedestal the names of the chief magistrates of the city, during whose mayoralties the monument was erected, are inscribed ; and round the base there is an inscription, attributing the destruction of the city to a “ popish faction,” in order to carry on the “ horrid plot for extirpating the protestant religion and old English liberty, and the introducing popery and slavery.” This inscription was defaced during the reign of James II., but on his abdication, and the ac-

cession of William III., it was very deeply re-engraved. It is due to the memory of the great architect, Sir Christopher Wren, to state the inscriptions were not suggested by him, but adopted contrary to his wishes, instead of more elegant and less illiberal compositions which he had prepared.

A person is constantly in attendance at the monument to admit visitors, who for a fee may ascend to the gallery, and two or three instances have occurred in which this facility has been used to a fatal purpose. The first was on the 26th of June, 1750, when a man, apparently a weaver, fell from the top, but whether accidentally or designedly is not known. Of the two remaining instances there is, however, no doubt: on the 7th of July, 1788, John Cradock, a baker, threw himself over the north side of the monument, and fell outside the railing; and on the 18th of January, 1810, Mr. Lyon Levy, a diamond merchant, threw himself from the east side of the gallery, and fell against the pedestal; as the height of the gallery from which they precipitated themselves is 175 feet, it is scarcely necessary to state that they were all killed on the spot.

INSURANCE OFFICES.

Maritime insurance has been known and practised three centuries. It is believed to have originated at Florence, where, on the 28th of January, 1523, five persons, appointed for the purpose, drew up some articles, which are still in force on the exchange at Leghorn: but obvious as the advantages of such an institution were; and capable as it was of extension, it

was not until nearly the middle of the last century that a company was formed to indemnify losses sustained by fire, though houses had sometimes been insured by individuals.

The first idea of insurance against fire had, however, originated much earlier; for in the year 1609, a person proposed to Count Anthony Gunther von Oldenburg, that as a new species of finance, he should insure the houses of all his subjects against fire, on their paying so much per cent. annually according to their value. "As many fires happened," says the author in his memorial, "by which a great number of people lost their property, the Count might lay before his subjects the danger of such accidents, and propose to them, that if they would either, single or united, put a value on their houses, and for every hundred dollars valuation pay to him yearly one dollar; he, on the other hand, would engage, that in case, by the will of God, their houses should be reduced to ashes, the misfortunes of war excepted, he would take upon himself the loss, and pay to the sufferers as much money as might be sufficient to rebuild them."

The prospect of gain, so tempting to most persons, could not induce the Count to adopt the plan, which he allowed to be good if a company was formed of individuals to insure each other's houses: but he doubted, that it could by him be "honourably, justly, and unreproachfully instituted, without tempting Providence; without incurring the censure of neighbours; and without disgracing one's name and dignity;" adding, that "God had without such means preserved and blessed, for many centuries, the

ancient house of Oldenburg; and he would still be present with him, through his mercy, and protect his subjects from destructive fires."

This plan, which was the basis of the present insurance offices, appears not to have been again thought of, until the fire of 1666 had laid the city of London in ashes. A meeting was then held of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council, with a view to form a system of insurance, for which the city funds and city lands should be the security. The meeting took place on the 16th of November, 1681, during the mayoralty of Sir John Moor, when it was resolved, "That books should be prepared by the first of December following, and lodged in the Chamber of London, for receiving and entering subscriptions. That lands and ground rents belonging to the city, to the value of 100,000*l.*, should be forthwith settled, as a fund to secure such houses as should be subscribed for; and that hereafter, as subscriptions should be made, a further additional fund by the premium which should be made."

The project did not succeed, probably on account of the very extravagant rate that was fixed. The premium for insuring brick houses being $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and for timber houses 8 per cent. A better plan for increasing the city funds could scarcely have been formed, had it been carried into effect on liberal principles; but our neighbours, the French, have the credit of forming the first fire insurance office, which was instituted in Paris in 1745, and was then adopted in all the states of Europe.

In a metropolis so rich and so large as London, the principles of fire insurance, when once adopted, could

not fail of becoming popular; offices were soon established on a large scale, and have continued to increase, both in number and in extent of business, with the growth of the metropolis. They have been of signal service, not only in indemnifying for a small premium several thousands of persons, who must have been ruined by the calamity of fires, but have prevented their progress, by the number of firemen and fire-engines kept by each company, always ready to proceed to any quarter of the town the moment a fire is discovered.

In London alone there are now not fewer than seventeen general fire insurance offices, exclusive of several others, formed principally for the country, and the offices which are established for the assurance of lives, the purchase and sale of annuities, the endowments of children, &c. These offices are a source of considerable revenue to the government, as will appear by the following list of duties paid by the London fire-offices on Lady-day quarter, 1823, from which a general view of the extent of the insurance may be formed.

Sun	£ 32,877	17	6
Phoenix		19,502	7	3
County		12,432	17	5
Royal Exchange..		11,728	18	6
Imperial		9,306	16	11
Globe		8,485	4	7
Albion		4,566	14	11
Eagle		4,385	16	9
British		3,647	10	9
Hope		4,450	8	11

Westminster	3,527	5	11
Atlas	4,720	2	1
Hand-in-Hand ..	3,752	9	3
Union	3,840	18	8
London	2,101	14	10
Guardian.....	5,713	11	1
Beacon	469	1	7

EARTHQUAKES AND HURRICANES.

The advantages of the British metropolis, in point of situation, are too obvious to escape observation, but there is one with which the founders of the city could not have been acquainted, since it has only been ascertained within the last few years ; it is that London occupies the only spot in Britain, or perhaps in the world, that may be deemed secure against the partial workings of those galvanic principles, whose operations are believed to produce earthquakes. This consolatory fact has been ascertained by geologists ; and although London is said to have been five times visited with earthquakes, yet admitting them to have been as alarming as the fears of contemporary historians represent them, these convulsions of nature never visited any place with more tenderness : even the great earthquake of 1755, which swallowed up one fourth of the city of Lisbon, and 30,000 of its inhabitants ; which shook the whole of Europe and Africa, and gathered the ocean up into a heap ; was scarcely perceived in London ; though it affected several parts of the country, and was felt at no greater distance than Cobham, in Surrey.

The first earthquake known in London occurred on Valentine's Eve, in the year 1247, but it appears to have been very slight, as were two others in 1601 and 1692; a severer shock was experienced in 1580, when Stowe assures us, several churches were shattered, and the bells struck against the hammers. Two other shocks were felt on the 8th of February and the 8th of March, 1751, which the fears of the inhabitants appear to have magnified excessively—for the only damage that they did was what is done by a high wind every year, throwing down a few chimnies and some old houses, which ought to have been condemned by the surveyors.

The earthquake of 1751 afforded one Bell, a life-guardsmen, the opportunity to practise on the credulity of the people, by prophesying, that "as the second earthquake had happened exactly four weeks after the first, so there would be a third precisely four weeks after the second, which would lay the cities of London and Westminster in ruins." So great was the panic, that a few days before the threatened destruction, the inhabitants began to quit the town in great numbers. "Many persons," says one of the newspapers of the time, "left their houses, and walked in the fields, or lay in boats all night, many people of fashion in the neighbouring villages sat in their coaches till day break; others went to a greater distance, so that the roads were never more thronged, and lodgings were hardly to be procured at Windsor; so far, and even to their wit's end, had their superstitious fears, or their guilty consciences, driven them."

But although the metropolis has passed through
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earthquakes scathless, it has frequently suffered by the destructive hurricane, and on one occasion more severely than it had ever done by any calamity, except by the Great Fire. The most remarkable storms have been those of the years 1440, 1445, 1599, 1703, 1739, 1740, 1788, 1790, 1794, 1797, 1798, and 1801; but with the exception of that of 1703, none of these were very destructive.

The last mentioned hurricane, which is usually denominated the "high wind of 1703," began about ten o'clock on the night of the 16th of November, and raged with unabated fury until seven o'clock next morning. It was a night

"Wherein the cub drawn bear would couch,
The lion and the belly-pinched wolf
Keep their fur dry,"

as too rough for nature to endure. Such a scene of devastation was scarcely ever witnessed as in a few hours had been committed in London, where two thousand stacks of chimnies were blown down, and the lead torn from the roofs of several churches, or rolled up like skins of parchment. Two turrets, which had been built a short time before on the church of St. Mary, Aldermary, the four pinnacles of St. Michael's in Cornhill, and one of the spires of St. Saviour's, Southwark, were blown down; the guard room, at Whitehall, was completely unroofed; the vanes and spindles of the weather-cocks on nearly all the churches were broken to pieces; upwards of thirty houses in Moorfields and other parts of the town were entirely blown down, and several hundreds more were dilapidated. Twenty-one persons were

killed, and upwards of 200 severely wounded by the falling of chimnies and houses. All the ships in the river Thames, except four, broke from their moorings, and were cast on shore, principally between Shadwell and Limehouse; sixty barges were driven with great fury against London-bridge, many of which were sunk or staved, and nearly five hundred wherries were entirely lost.

The loss sustained in London was estimated at two millions sterling, and such was the demand for tiles for covering the dilapidated houses, that the price was advanced from one guinea to six guineas per thousand, and bricklayers' labour rose in an equal proportion. It was during this hurricane, that the Edystone light-house was blown down, and that Bishop Kidder and his lady were killed in bed by the falling of a stack of chimnies at the palace at Wells. But fatal as the storm was on land in various parts of the kingdom, it was still more destructive at sea, and, among other calamities, twelve men of war, with 2000 men, perished within sight of shore.

ANCIENT TOWN RESIDENCES.

The nobility of the present day certainly do not worship the rising sun in their choice of residence; and it would be as great a novelty to see a nobleman, in the nineteenth century, fix his abode east of St. Martin's Lane, as for our Knights of the Bath or the Garter to make pilgrimages barefooted to those Eastern olives, once so much frequented even by Englishmen.

Some centuries ago the principal town mansions of the nobility and gentry were in the city of London and its immediate neighbourhood ; nor need this create surprise, as, although the palace was at Whitehall, yet our kings frequently resided in the Tower, and rendered for a time the East, the court end of the town. The city mansions in the feudal times, though boasting none of the refinements or embellishments of the houses of our nobility at the present day, possessed a dignity and a grandeur more imposing. As many of the Barons only came up to town, either when summoned by the king to assist him in council, or by some of their friends to aid in controuling the royal will, they generally brought a large retinue with them. The Earl of Warwick, the " king maker," who is said to have feasted four thousand persons every day, seldom entered London with less than six hundred followers, who wore his livery, and accompanied him through the streets of the metropolis to his house in Warwick Lane, where the old chroniclers relate, six oxen were frequently ate for breakfast ; every person acquainted with any of the household being allowed as much roast and boiled meat as he could prick and carry away on the point of a long dagger.

Baynard Castle, on the north bank of the Thames, has already been noticed, on account of its political importance during several eventful periods. When it had ceased to be occupied by royalty, it was given to the Earl of Pembroke, and received the name of Pembroke House.

Near this castle was another ancient mansion on the site of the present Cold Harbour Stairs. It was originally erected as a hall or inn (Herebrough) for

the "men of Colen," or Cologne merchants. It was called Colen Harbrough, whence it has been corrupted into Cold Harbour, which Maitland fancifully supposes was given to it on account of its bleak or cold situation. The Cologne merchants quitted their inn before the reign of Edward II., and it fell into the possession of Sir John Abel, knt., who let the whole building, with the quay, to Henry Stowe, a draper, for thirty-three shillings a year. House rent was at this period generally very cheap; for Gregory de Rokeslie, who was lord-mayor from 1272 to 1282, and was also chief assay-master of the Royal Mint, "dwelled in Milk Street, in an house belonging to the priory of Lewes, in Sussex, whereof he was tenant at will, paying twenty shillings by the year, without being bound to reparation or other charges."

The mansion at Cold Harbour afterwards became the property of Sir John Pountney, and was called Pountney Inn, according to the custom of the time, when private houses, and not taverns, were called inns; and the proverb, "Shall I not take mine ease at mine inn," signified that every man's house was a place, where he might indulge himself as he pleased. Cold Harbour was afterwards successively occupied by the great Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Essex; the Earl of Huntingdon, who entertained his brother, Richard II., within this "right fair and stately house," as Stowe calls it; and Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter. Richard III. gave it to the Herald's College, but on the accession of Henry VIII. it reverted to the crown, and was for some time occupied by the celebrated Margaret Countess of Richmond, who gave a splendid entertainment to the lord-mayor

and the citizens at this house, on the marriage of Prince Arthur with Catharine of Arragon. Cold Harbour was afterwards occupied by Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, and the Earls of Shrewsbury, one of whom changed its name to Shrewsbury House. In 1600, a considerable portion of the building was taken down, and small tenements erected on the site, which were let at good rents to tradesmen, until in the great fire the whole was burnt down.

Crosby House, Bishopsgate, which so far resists the ravages of time, as still to present a fine specimen of Gothic domestic architecture, is often mentioned by Shakspeare in his tragedy of Richard III., and like Baynard Castle, appears to have been the scene of many of the intrigues by which the wily Gloucester usurped the crown, and which he artfully got the citizens to tender him in the council-chamber of this mansion. The house was built by Sir John Crosby, an eminent grocer and woolstapler, who, with eleven others, received the honour of knighthood in the field for their gallantry in resisting the attack made by the Bastard Falconbridge on the city. Crosby House, when finished, was considered the loftiest and the most splendid private mansion in the metropolis. The worthy knight died in 1475, four years after the building was completed. It was afterwards occupied by several persons, eminent for their wealth or character. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it was occasionally appropriated to foreign ambassadors; and Sir John Spencer and Sir James Langhan kept their mayoralty in Crosby House.

During the civil wars, this house, which almost resembled a palace, was used as a prison, where many

of the loyalists were confined ; on the restoration several parts of the mansion were taken down, and Crosby Square erected on the site ; but the great hall, which still remains, was granted to the Non-Conformists, and used as a meeting-house for upwards of a century, for which it was admirably calculated, on account of its large dimensions.

A house in Barbican was the residence of Catharine Willoughby, the third wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who, during the reign of Edward VI., ridiculed the church of Rome, by calling one of her dogs after the infamous Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and dressing another in a priest's cassock, liberties for which she was obliged to quit the country on the accession of Mary to the throne.

Near the same spot, in Bridgewater Square, stood the town house of the family of Bridgewater, who trace back an honourable line of ancestry to the conquest. The first Earl of Bridgewater was the patron of Milton, who also resided in Barbican. The Masque of Comus was founded on an adventure which occurred to the sons and daughters of this earl, when he was Lord President of Wales, and it was performed by them at Ludlow Castle.

Prince Rupert, who will be remembered as the inventor of a delightful branch of the fine arts, when his military fame shall be forgotten, resided in a house in Beech Lane, Barbican, which shows that, even at that period, a residence in the city, and its neighbourhood, was not thought derogatory to a man of rank or fortune.

The ancient family of Lumley, who traced their antiquity to so remote a period, that James I. said, he

verily believed, "Adam must have been a Lumley," had a town mansion on Tower Hill, where Trinity House now stands; and one of the Earls of Essex lived in a magnificent house near Leadenhall Street.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton lived in Billiter Square; and in St. Mary Axe was a mansion called Pickering House, which, for size and magnificence, might have entertained the monarch and his court. An Earl of Northumberland, in the reign of Henry VI., lived in a house near Fenchurch Street; and Lord Nevil resided in the Green Yard, Leadenhall. Near the same place, Ralph Vere, Earl of Oxford, had a splendid mansion in the reign of Henry V., and where a portion of the East India House now stands, Stowe supposes there was once a royal residence.

The mansion of East Ferrers was formerly in Gracechurch Street, near White-hart Court; and Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, who, though of very humble birth, attained the highest honours of the state in the reign of Henry VIII., had a magnificent house, with extensive gardens, on the site of Drapers' Hall, in Throgmorton Street.

In Cross Street, Hatton Garden, stands Hatton House, which was built by Sir Christopher Hatton, who literally *danced* himself into favour with Queen Elizabeth, and obtained the high situation of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Lord High Chancellor. Sir Christopher, like many favourites, outlived her majesty's liking, and died broken hearted, on being unable to pay a debt he had incurred to the queen, which she rigorously demanded; her Majesty afterwards issued an extent against the property to the amount of 42,000*l.*

Sir Christopher was a very nervous gentleman. Sir Julius Cæsar, who was afterwards Judge of the Admiralty, and Master of the Rolls, when young, had been recommended to Sir Christopher Hatton, who, courtier like, fed him with hopes and promises, but did nothing for him. Julius, calling one day, found that Sir Christopher was not at home, but seeing his pocket book, he was so unpolite as to open it, and to inscribe, in legible characters, "Remember Cæsar." Sir Christopher returned, saw the memento, which to him was as the hand writing on the wall to Nebuchadnezzar, and he was in continual dread, that some Brutus would visit on him the fate of him who crossed the Rubicon. Thus he pined for some time in continual fear of assassination, until he learnt that it was a hint from his neglected friend, and he therefore neglected him no longer.

At the corner of Brook Street, Holborn, stood Brooke House, a noble mansion, formerly the residence of the ancestors of the Earls of Brooke and Warwick, whose names and titles are perpetuated in the adjoining streets. Here perished, in 1628, by the hands of an assassin, who was one of his own domestics, Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, whose offices are so emphatically inscribed on his tomb at Warwick, as "Servant to Queen Elizabeth, Counsellor to King James, and Friend to Sir Philip Sidney."

The family of Bouchier, Earls of Bath, had also a mansion in this neighbourhood.

Furnival's Inn was the residence of the Furnivals, who accompanied Richard Cœur de Lion to the crusades, and assisted our third Edward to win the battles.

of Caen and Cressy. It was afterwards occupied by the Earls of Shrewsbury and Westmoreland.

In Castle Street was the mansion of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, celebrated for his love of the fine arts, and for his having introduced many architectural improvements into this country; and close to Southampton Buildings stood the mansion of the Wriothesleys, Earls of Southampton. Lord William Russel, whose amiable consort was the daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, last Earl of Southampton, on passing this house, on his way to Lincoln's-Inn-Fields to be executed, looked towards the place where so many happy hours of his life had been spent, and an involuntary tear rushed into his eyes, which with manly firmness he wiped off.

Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, which still retain the only remnant of nobility east of Drury Lane, in the person of the Earl of Portsmouth, was formerly a fashionable neighbourhood, and the gay, but licentious, Earl of Rochester lived in Portugal Row.

In Essex Street, Strand, where the Unitarian Chapel is now, formerly stood a magnificent house, erected by Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, for the prelate of that see. During the suppression of the monasteries, when ecclesiastical property was considered lawful plunder, Lord Paget seized the mansion and gave it his name. It was in this house that the haughty Protector, Somerset, planned the assassination of the members of the council, who stood between him and the object of his ambition. In the reign of Elizabeth this mansion fell to the possession of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, when its name

was again changed in honour of Elizabeth's ill-fated favourite; and on his death it devolved on Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, who had married his daughter. Its name was again changed to that of Essex House, and during the residence of the Palsgrave in England, in the reign of James I., was occupied by him.

In an age when the revenues of the church had not suffered the spoliations which stripped it of more than half its property, and a still greater portion of its power, we need not be surprised at finding its dignitaries living in splendid mansions, or that abbots and priors, whose benefices and employments were in the country, should make the metropolis a frequent place of residence. Lambeth Palace is the only archiepiscopal or episcopal residence that has retained its dignity, if we except that of the Bishop of London at Fulham. The Archbishop of York had formerly a palace, called York Place, Whitehall; and the Bishop of Durham had another near Durham Yard, in the Strand. In this street, or near it, were also situated the inns of the Bishops of Bath, Chester, Llandaff, Worcester, Lichfield, and Carlisle. The Bishop of Salisbury lived in Salisbury Square, and had for a neighbour, the Bishop of St. Davids, whose house was near Bridewell Palace. The Bishop of Hereford resided still farther east, and had a house in Old Fish Street Hill, near St. Paul's.

The Bishop of Ely, whose see must formerly have been much more lucrative than at present, had one of the most extensive episcopal domains in London, situated where Ely Place now stands. Ely Inn, as the mansion was first called, and afterwards Ely

House, was built in consequence of a will of Bishop John de Kirsley, who died in 1290, and left a messuage and cottages in Holborn to his successors. The next Bishop of Ely, William de Luda, purchased several houses and some lands, which he also left to the bishops of that see. Extensive gardens were laid out, and such attention paid to horticulture by the resident bishops, that they were celebrated for the choice fruit they produced. Shakspeare alludes to this circumstance, in the play of Richard III., when he makes Gloster thus address the prelate, John Morton.

“ My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
I saw good strawberries in your garden there,
I do beseech you send for some of them.”

The estate was afterwards much increased by various purchases, so that, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it contained upwards of twenty acres of buildings and gardens, which were inclosed by a lofty wall. So large an estate tempted the cupidity of Sir Christopher Hatton, who prevailed on the queen to ask for a part of it to be added to his own premises at Hatton House. Cox, Bishop of Ely, at first refused, when the queen produced a compliance, by the following laconic, but unlady-like epistle.

“ Proud prelate,

You know what you were before
I made you what you are now ; if you do not immediately comply with my request, I will unfrock you by
G——.

ELIZABETH.”

He must have been a proud prelate indeed, and an imprudent one too, who would brook the queen's wishes, after such a threat. The bishop, therefore, mortgaged to the queen, for a sum of 1800*l.*, a considerable portion of the estate, including the gate-house of the palace, with the exception of two rooms and several acres of land, reserving to himself and his successors "free access through the gate-house, walking in the garden, and the right to gather twenty bushels of roses yearly."

Ely House, though curtailed of its fair proportion by Elizabeth, and afterwards dilapidated by the Long Parliament, continued to be the residence of the prelates of that see for the extended period of four hundred and eighty-six years, during which time there were forty-one bishops, six of whom died within its walls. In 1772, an act of parliament was passed, which authorized the bishop to dispose of the house to the crown on terms that were agreed upon.

Ely House, in the days of its splendour, and when kings and princes banquetted within its lofty halls, was a very magnificent building. The entrance was through a large gateway into a paved court, bounded on the left by a small garden, from which it was separated by a low wall; and on the right, by some offices, supported by a colonnade. At the extremity stood the venerable hall, which was originally built of stone. To the north-west of the hall, was a quadrangular cloister, and adjoining that, a field containing about an acre of ground, in which was a chapel dedicated to St. Etheldred, but when erected does not appear.

The hall was seventy-two feet in length, thirty-two

feet wide, and thirty feet high. The roof, which was of strong timber, formed a demi-dodecagon. The floor was paved with tiles, which at the upper end of the room was as usual raised; at the lower end was an oaken screen. The hall was lighted by six gothic windows, four of which were on the south, and two on the north side. In a preceding article, (vol. i. p. 220.) allusion has been made to a grand entertainment given here, in the middle of the fifteenth century, by the serjeants at law, who do not appear to have had a suitable place in which they could accommodate a large party, as such feasts were frequent at Ely House. One still more splendid was given by the serjeants, in November, 1531, which commenced on Friday the 10th of November and continued until the Saturday following. Henry VIII., his Queen, Catharine of Arragon, the foreign ambassadors, the lord-mayor, the judges, the barons of the exchequer, knights and squires, the aldermen, masters in chancery, sergeants and their ladies, worshipful citizens, and the crafts of London, were among the guests. Maitland has preserved the bill of fare, which, considering that the citizens were fed five days out of it, does not appear very extravagant, though abundant.

“ These were

Twenty-four beeves, at	26s.	8d. each.
One carcase of an ox from the shambles	24s.	0d.
One hundred fat muttons	2s.	10d.
Fifty-one great veals	4s.	8d.
Thirty-four porkes	3s.	8d.
Ninety-one pigs	0s.	6d.

Ten dozen capons of Greece 1s. 8d. p. doz.
 Nine dozen and six capons of Kent . . 1s. 0d.
 Seven dozen and nine cocks of grose . . 0s. 8d.
 Nineteen dozen of capons course 0s. 6d.
 Seven dozen and nine fat cocks 0s. 8d.
 Thirty-seven dozen of pigeons 0s. 2d.
 Thirteen dozen of swans
 Three hundred and forty dozen of larks 0s. 5d.
 with pullets, at 2d. and 2½d. each, though in what
 quantity is not stated.

Although the bishops of Ely lent their hall to these scenes of revelry, yet they appear to have employed their own revenues to a better purpose, that of feeding the poor; and it is recorded of West, who was bishop of this see in 1552, that he daily fed two hundred people at his gate: nor was episcopal benevolence confined to the bishops of Ely, for Richard de Berry, who was bishop of Durham in the reign of Edward III., had eight quarters of wheat made into bread every week, which with "alms' dishes and the fragments of his house" he gave to the poor.

The bishops of Bangor formerly had a palace in Bangor-court, Shoe-lane, which still exhibits the ruins of its former greatness.

In the borough of Southwark, were two episcopal residences,—Winchester House, Bank-side; and the Bishop of Rochester's Inn, called Rochester House, which was at a short distance from it to the south. Winchester House is said to have been one of the most magnificent mansions in London, and was built by William Gifford, bishop of that see, in the year 1107. It continued to be the residence of the succeeding prelates until the beginning of the seven-

teenth century. Several splendid feasts have been given at Winchester House. Cardinal Beaufort, the uncle to Henry VI., on returning from Calais in 1426, was met by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and chief citizens, on horseback, who conducted him in great state to his palace at Southwark, where he entertained them. A more splendid banquet was given in the preceding reign, on the marriage of the Princess of Milan to the Earl of Kent, at the neighbouring church of St. Mary Overy. The king, who gave away the bride, was present with his court, and an open table was covered for all comers.

When, in the reign of Mary, Gardiner was restored to this see, he converted his palace into a dungeon, where several protestants were confined, and after being tried at the bishop's court in St. Mary Overy's church, were sent to the stake to seal their faith with their lives.

Considerable odium attaches to the Bishops of Winchester, on account of their having licensed houses in their "manor of Southwark," which in the present day are marked with reprobation by the virtuous, and indictable at common law.

During the civil wars, Winchester House was again converted into a prison; and on the death of Charles I. it was sold with the grounds for 4880*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.* The restoration gave the property back to the see of Winchester, but it was no longer an episcopal residence; and was from that time occupied as warehouses or manufactories, until a fire in 1814, destroyed the last remains of Winchester House.

Opposite St. George's church stood a noble mansion, which was successively a ducal and archi-

episcopal residence, built in the reign of Henry VIII. by Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. It was called Suffolk House, and Duke's-place, until this nobleman exchanged it with the king for the bishop of Norwich's Palace in St. Martin's in the Fields, when it took the name of Southwark Place. The king established a mint here, and the neighbourhood has since been known by that name. Edward VI. dined at Southwark House in the second year of his reign, and afterwards knighted John Yorke, one of the sheriffs of London, who was present.

On the accession of Queen Mary, the mansion was transferred to the archbishops of York, in lieu of York House, of which they had been despoiled by her father when he degraded Cardinal Wolsey and seized on his property. It does not seem to have been long occupied by Nicholas Heth, the archbishop of York, to whom the queen presented it, for he removed nearer the court, and sold Southwark House to some speculating builders, who pulled it down and erected a great number of cottages on its site.

The parish of Lambeth could formerly boast of having a resident nobility, as well as several episcopal houses, and the palace where the primate of all England still lives. A house in High-street near the church, now used as a pottery, is said to have once been the residence of the bishops of Hereford; but, from its modern appearance, we should suspect that the present building has been raised on the site of Hereford House only.

In Carlisle lane was another episcopal mansion, belonging to the bishops of Rochester.

In the reign of Richard I., Baldwin, archbishop of

Canterbury, projected the building of a large college, or monastery, and for this purpose obtained from the bishop of Rochester, a grant of upwards of twenty-four acres of land. He commenced building a chapel, which was finished by his successor, Herbert Walter, who pursuing the original design of Baldwin, began to erect a college; but this excited the jealousy of the monks of Canterbury, who sent a protest to Rome, and obtained an order from the pope, that the college should be discontinued:—and even the chapel, which was said to be a very elegant structure, was demolished in 1199. On part of the ground the bishop of Rochester built a house, which was occupied by prelates of that see, until the year 1540, when the bishop exchanged it with the crown for Rochester House, Southwark. Henry VIII. granted it to the bishop of Carlisle, when it took the name of Carlisle House, (a title still perpetuated in the boarding school on its site,) but it does not appear that any bishop of that see ever inhabited it.

Bishop Bonner, who ended a wicked life in the marshalsea, is said to have resided in the new cut, Lambeth Marsh. This parish was not, however, merely celebrated for episcopal residences, as the earls and dukes of Norfolk, whose chequered fate forms an interesting page in English history, had a mansion in Lambeth called Norfolk House, situated near the church, on what is now called Norfolk Row. In this house resided the Duke of Norfolk, whose services in the memorable battle of Flodden Field were not sufficient to protect him from the capricious tyranny of Henry VIII. When confined in the Tower, and under very severe restrictions, he pre-

sented a petition to the lords, in which, among other things, he requested that he might have some of the books that were at his house in Lambeth. He appears to have been a studious nobleman, for in his petition, he says, "unless I have books to read ere I fall asleep, and after I am awake again, I cannot sleep nor have done these dozen years." The duke was condemned, and the day of his execution fixed, but death interposed to save his life, by carrying off the king the night before, and on the accession of Edward VI. he was released.

In Norfolk House, Lambeth, the gallant and accomplished Earl of Surrey received, under Leland, that education which made him the ornament of the age in which he lived. "He was," says Sir Walter Raleigh, "a man no less valiant than learned, and of excellent hopes." Those hopes were however blighted, and he was sent to the block by the master he had so faithfully and so bravely served. In the reign of Elizabeth, Norfolk House was alienated from the Howard family, and from that period it fell into decay. It appears from the dilapidated state in which it was, when Hollar published his views, that it must have been a stately mansion; as the centre, the only part then left, had large bow windows, and was crowned with turrets.

Not only lords spiritual and temporal, but foreign ambassadors, have resided in the parish of Lambeth, as, near Sir Robert Burnett's distillery, formerly stood Caron House, which was built by Sir Noel Caron, ambassador from the States of Holland. The Dutch Envoy, in erecting this mansion, which had a centre and two wings, seemed determined to act up to the

spirit of the motto which he had inscribed on the front, *Omne solum forti patria*; and to show that he had accommodated himself to the country in which he was residing, rather than to his own, where at the same period, the members of the States General, who lived at a distance from the capital, carried their linen and their provisions in a bundle, like a schoolboy with his satchel.

The last of the ancient town residences we shall mention, for to notice all would exceed our limits, is Peterborough House, Millbank, which is now occupied by Mr. Vidler, the contractor for the mail coaches, and where they are principally manufactured. It is believed to have been built by the first earl of Peterborough, and was a lofty and elegant mansion, with a spacious garden, which nearly extended to Totterdell-fields.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT SINCE THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

The revolution of 1688 put an end to all encroachments on the privileges of the citizens of London, who have since enjoyed, unmolested, those franchises of which they have proved themselves so deserving. Had that great event been merely a change of succession, effected by the struggles of contending parties, the advantages derived from it would not have been so lasting; but it was a change of principles, a triumph of liberty over despotism—a triumph which all succeeding monarchs have recognized.

No sooner had William III. been established on the throne, than all the rights and charters of the

city of London were confirmed, and the encroachments of Charles II. and James II. declared void and illegal. (Vol. I. p. 216). The citizens were not insensible to the benefits they had thus gained, and lost no opportunity of showing how ready they were to support a government, founded on principles of liberty. The king having suppressed the rebellion in Ireland, and consolidated his government at home, resolved, in 1691, to pay a visit to his Dutch dominions, leaving his illustrious consort, Queen Regent. Scarcely had his Majesty quitted the British shores, when a report was raised by the jacobite faction, that the French were on the point of invading England with a large force, in order to restore the exiled monarch. No circumstance could have been more fortunate for the house of Orange, since it proved its stability on the throne ; for the threats of invasion excited no alarm, but much preparation. The city of London increased its military force, and knowing that money was the sinew of war, the common council voted an advance to the Queen of £200,000.

The city had suffered so much from a popish monarch, that a prejudice was excited against Roman Catholics, by no means consonant with the liberal spirit of the age ; and in the years 1697, 1699, and 1700, proclamations were issued, fixing their residence within certain limits, and empowering the magistracy to seize all arms and ammunition found in their possession. But although the government was so firmly established, and acted so consonant to public opinion, that no attempts were made in London to disturb the public tranquillity, yet the violence of

party was often manifested in a very strong degree. An instance of this occurred in 1716, when an intemperate priest, Dr. Sacheverell, attempted to revive the principles which had been the cause of hurrying the Stuarts from the throne. The doctor preached two sermons, in which he censured the act of toleration, and vindicated the doctrine of non-resistance to the government to the utmost extent,

The house of commons took up the business, and after declaring his sermons to be "malicious, scandalous, and seditious libels," appointed a committee to draw up articles of impeachment against him. The house of lords, however, thought the matter had been treated too seriously, and although they condemned Sacheverell by a majority of seventeen voices, yet he was merely restrained from preaching for three years. During these proceedings, the doctor, who was of the high church party, became a great favourite with a considerable portion of the populace, who considered him as the champion of the established church, and suffering for its sake. They conducted him in triumph from Westminster Hall to his house, and testified their zeal in his cause, by attacking the dissenting meeting-houses, particularly the chapel of the facetious and eccentric Daniel Burgess, in New Court, Carey Street. They tore down the pulpit, the pews, and benches, and made a fire of them in Lincoln's-Inn-fields.

The accession of the house of Brunswick to the throne of Great Britain, was hailed as the last act of the great drama of the revolution; for although Queen Anne was popular, yet it was known that in her latter days, she wavered as to her successor, and could she

have possessed sufficient power to influence the appointment, it was believed she would have recalled a member of the dethroned family. In the accession of the House of Hanover—a family that had been the first to espouse the reformation, the people anticipated an ample security against all the incroachments of the Roman Catholics. No sooner had his majesty, George I. arrived, than he received the congratulations of the city, and in his answer to their address he complimented them on their importance, and assured them that he would take their privileges and interests under his particular protection. On the ensuing lord mayor's day, the king and the royal family dined in the city; on which occasion he created the lord mayor, Sir William Humphreys, a baronet, and gave 1000*l.* to be applied for the relief and discharge of poor people imprisoned for debt.

The rebellion of 1715 excited considerable sensation in the metropolis, but did not in the slightest degree affect the citizens, who, in an address to his majesty, declared their unalterable adherence to the royal person and government.

In the year 1721, the plague raged so furiously at Marseilles, that strong measures were taken by the legislature to prevent its being introduced into this country. One of the clauses in the law enacted, that "every infected place should be inclosed and shut up, by a line or trench, in order to cut off all communication, and that all persons endeavouring to escape from the said infected place, without having regularly performed quarantine, should suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy." The corporation of

the city, ever watchful of the privileges of their fellow citizens, presented a petition against the bill; and although unsuccessful in the first instance, they procured its repeal in the following year. Nor was it to matters of a local nature that the city limited its interference, wisely considering every infringement on the liberties of any class of individuals, as an attack on the liberties of all. It was with this feeling that, in the year 1733, the court of common council resisted the extension of the excise laws, a measure proposed by Sir Robert Walpole. On the day fixed by the minister to propose the obnoxious measure, the citizens in great numbers thronged the avenues leading to the house of commons, anxiously waiting the result. Sir Robert, with an indiscretion that was not usual with him, insinuated that the multitude who had assembled had been gathered together unfairly. "Gentlemen," said he, "may give them what name they please: it may be said, that they came hither as humble suppliants; but I know whom the law calls sturdy beggars, and those who brought them hither could not be certain but that they might have behaved in the same manner."

The patriotic and inflexible Sir John Barnard, at that time one of the members for the city, resented with becoming spirit the sarcasms of the minister; and after declaring that he knew of no unfair means of bringing the citizens to the door of the house, said, "The honourable gentleman talks of sturdy beggars: I do not know what sort of people, Mr. Speaker, may now be at your door, because I have not been lately out of the house, but I believe they are the same sort of people that were there when I entered

the house ; and then, sir, I can assure you, that I saw none but such as deserve the name of sturdy beggars as little as the right honourable gentleman himself, or any gentleman whatever."

In vain, however, did the city representatives oppose the obnoxious Excise Bill, until the sheriffs, who were accompanied by the chief citizens in two hundred carriages, presented the petition of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, against the bill, at the bar of the house ; the minister now took the alarm, and perceiving the unpopularity of the measure, abandoned it.

The rebellion of 1745 afforded the city of London a new opportunity of showing their firm attachment to the royal family and the government. Addresses were presented to the king, by the corporation, and by the merchants of the metropolis, who proceeded, in a hundred and forty coaches, to declare their fidelity to the throne. The military preparations were prompt and vigorous ; and when the Duke of Cumberland, after putting down the rebellion, returned to London, he was presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box.

But ready as the citizens were, at all times, to support the government, and to sanction every measure consistent with the honour and interests of the country, they never ceased to watch over their own liberties. A proof of their vigilance in this respect occurred in the year 1749, when the government suspecting that an attempt would be made to rescue two men, who had been principals in a riot in the Strand, ordered a party of the foot-guards to attend at Holborn-bars, and assist the civil authorities in guarding

the prisoners to Tyburn. The sheriff, Mr. Janssen, knowing that the constitution and usages of the city precluded the interference of the military, civilly dismissed the guard, and heading his own body of police, secured the due execution of the law without molestation.

The early period of the reign of George the Third was agitated by the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes, M. P. for Aylesbury, who was committed to the Tower on a warrant from the secretary of state, which was afterwards declared to be illegal, for a libel in No. 45 of the North Briton. On being liberated from prison, by the decision of lord chief justice Pratt, in his favour, Mr. Wilkes brought an action against the under secretary of state, for illegally seizing his papers, and obtained a verdict of 1000*l.* damages. He afterwards reprinted the obnoxious No. of the North Briton, when the house of commons expelled him, and a prosecution was commenced against him in the court of King's-bench, in which the publication was adjudged a libel, and, on his not appearing to receive sentence, he was outlawed.

The public had manifested a strong feeling in favour of Mr. Wilkes; and when the house of commons ordered the libellous No. of the North Briton to be burnt by the common hangman, the populace assailed the sheriff and city officers, who attempted to carry the order into effect at the Royal Exchange, and broke the glass of sheriff Harley's carriage. They also snatched the libel from the flames, and proceeding to Temple-bar, where they exhibited it in the Temple, they made a bonfire, in which they threw a

large jack boot, in allusion to Lord Bute, then prime minister.

Mr. Wilkes, who had retired to France, suddenly made his appearance on the hustings at Guildhall, at the general election in 1768, and offered himself as a candidate to represent the city ; but failing in his object, he determined to stand for the county of Middlesex, and was elected by a large majority ; when his partizans, not having the discretion to enjoy their triumph in quiet, committed several outrages, though of a much less alarming character than afterwards took place on the day appointed for the meeting of the new parliament. Mr. Wilkes had been committed to the King's-bench prison, on a sentence against him for the libel. On the 10th of May, when the parliament met, an opinion prevailed that Mr. Wilkes could not be detained, and a great concourse of people assembled, ready to convey him in triumph to the senate ; but finding there was no prospect of his liberation, the mob became very clamorous. This alarmed the Surrey magistrates, who called in the aid of the military and read the riot act. The mob, incensed at what they deemed an unnecessary interference, assailed the soldiers with stones and brick-bats ; when the latter, who were principally Scotchmen, became irritated, and one of them wantonly discharging his musket, shot Mr. William Allen, the son of a livery stable keeper, at the door of his father's cow-house. The soldiers were afterwards ordered to fire, and upwards of twenty persons were killed and wounded.

The death of young Allen, who had not participated in the riot, excited a great sensation, not only

in the metropolis, but in the country; and the celebrated Horne Tooke strained every nerve to bring the offender to justice, but without effect.

The election of Mr. Wilkes as member for Middlesex was not recognized by the house of commons, who annulled it. The Middlesex freeholders, however, were determined, and twice in the course of six weeks they re-elected him. A third writ was issued, when Colonel Luttrell was induced to offer himself; and although Mr. Wilkes was again returned, by a majority of 850 votes, the house of commons declared the colonel the sitting member.

Petitions were presented from the city of London, as well as from the inhabitants of the county, against these proceedings, but without effect, until the great question as to the legality of general warrants was decided in the Court of Common Pleas, in November 1769, by Mr. Wilkes obtaining a verdict of 4000*l.* against the Earl of Halifax, then secretary of state. In the month of April following, Mr. Wilkes, who had previously been elected alderman of the city, was liberated; on which occasion the metropolis was illuminated. The triumph of Mr. Wilkes was not yet complete, for after a long struggle, the legality of his seat in the House of Commons was admitted, and the proceedings against him ordered to be erased from the journals.

The tumults which marked this period were not always of a political nature: the Spitalfields weavers, who felt aggrieved by the introduction of foreign manufactures and the low rate of wages, had long exhibited symptoms of discontent, and on more than one occasion had been guilty of some excesses. Towards

the close of the year 1769, these proceedings became more serious, and a party of the guards was called in to seize some of the ringleaders, who had assembled at the Dolphin alehouse. On entering the house, the weavers, who were armed, attacked the soldiers, one of whom they killed; the soldiers returned the fire, killed two of the rioters, and took four others prisoners. Two of these were capitally convicted; and government deeming it necessary to display its rigour, in order to deter future offenders, by an exemplary punishment, ordered them to be executed near Bethnal-green Church. The sheriffs, doubting how far they were authorised to deviate from the sentence pronounced in the Old Bailey, sent several memorials to the minister, and the convicts were respited until the opinion of the judges could be taken on the subject, when they having declared, that "the time and place of execution are in law no part of the judgement, and that the recorder's warrant was a lawful authority to the sheriffs as to the time and place of execution," the criminals were executed at the place fixed upon by the government.

Two events occurred at this period, which strongly marked the watchfulness of the city magistrates in preserving the liberties of the citizens. During the riots in Spitalfields, the soldiers had passed through the city unmolested, until the commanding officer on one occasion marched his men to the sound of the drum and fife through all the public streets. Beckford, the patriotic Beckford, then lord mayor, whose exertions have already been noticed, vol. i. p. 278, immediately wrote to Lord Barrington, the secretary of state, to request an explanation, which was

promptly and satisfactorily given. "I am very clear in opinion," said his lordship, "that no troops should march through the city of London, in the manner described by your lordship, without previous notice given to the lord mayor." His lordship added, that he would take such measures as he trusted for the future would "prevent any just offence being given to the city or its chief magistrate." In later times, however, the city has become less scrupulous in this respect, though the right to exclude the military remains undisputed.

In the year 1771, the city made a strong effort to oppose the authority of the house of commons in cases of breach of privilege. Mr. J. Wheble and Mr. Miller, the printers of two newspapers, had been ordered to the bar of the house, on a charge of having violated its privileges, by the publication of reports of parliamentary proceedings. The serjeant at arms failing in taking them into custody, a royal proclamation was issued, offering a reward for their apprehension. Mr. Wheble was then taken by a journeyman printer, and brought before Mr. Wilkes, the sitting alderman at Guildhall, who, not recognizing the authority of the proclamation, discharged Mr. Wheble, having first bound him over to prosecute the man who had arrested him.

Mr. Miller was arrested at his own house, by a messenger from the house of commons; but he gave him in charge to a constable, and had him carried to the Mansion-house, where the lord mayor, Brass Crosby, esq. and the aldermen Wilkes and Oliver were sitting. The serjeant at arms attended, and in the name of the house of commons demanded Mr.

Miller and the messenger. The lord mayor refused, on the ground that the warrant was illegal, not having been indorsed by a city magistrate, and ordered the messenger to enter into recognizances to answer the assault on Mr. Miller, at the next sessions in Guildhall.

The house of commons, indignant that the city should thus beard its authority, ordered the lord mayor and the two aldermen to appear before them. Wilkes refused to attend, unless he was summoned as member for Middlesex; but the commons, not having acknowledged the legality of his election, would not do this, and in order to avoid any further contest with a man who had so often foiled them, adjourned over the day fixed for his appearance. The aldermen Crosby and Oliver appeared to the order of the house, and were committed to the Tower, where they remained until the prorogation of parliament.

The citizens so far approved of the conduct of their magistrates, that a committee was appointed to procure their liberation by an appeal to the courts of law, but the judges refused to interfere with the privileges of the house of commons. On their liberation, they were saluted at the Tower gate by a salute of twenty-one guns, and were escorted to the Mansion-house by the artillery company and several of the most eminent citizens in fifty-three coaches. Silver cups were voted by the common council and livery to these public spirited magistrates; and the printer who had arrested Mr. Wheble was tried at Guildhall for the assault, when he was sentenced to two months imprisonment in the compter, and to pay a fine of one shilling.

In a subsequent year the city made a formidable opposition to the obnoxious system of impressment, but the decision of Lord Mansfield was not in their favour, although his lordship vindicated the measure rather on the principle of necessity than of law; but the urgency of the times prevented the citizens from captiously disputing an authority which, so far as regarded themselves, was sparingly exercised.

It is much to be regretted, that while the city magistracy manifested such a watchful jealousy of their liberties, a party of misguided men should be guilty of such acts of intolerance and outrage as disgraced the metropolis in the year 1780, but as this is a subject which we shall hereafter have occasion to notice, we pass it over for the present. Certainly the ministers had become so obnoxious, that scarcely any measure, that originated with them, could give satisfaction. War is seldom unpopular while it is successful, but the contest with the colonies in America was not only considered as impolitic, but the ill-success which attended it, generated a mass of discontent in the metropolis, which manifested itself on all occasions. Strong remonstrances were presented to his majesty from the city, in 1781, deprecating all further perseverance in "a system of measures which had proved so disastrous to the country," and intreating him to dismiss from his presence and councils, all those persons who had deluded him into an "unfortunate and unnatural war."

It has always been the maxim of the citizens of London to speak their sentiments boldly, and to bear to the throne the grievances, which less ingenuous men would brood over in silence, but they have still always

been foremost in loyalty to the sovereign, and in support of the government when it required their aid. Many opportunities have occurred in which they have manifested both. When, in the year 1786, the wretched maniac, Margaret Nicholson, attempted to stab our late venerated monarch, the citizens of London were the first to express their congratulations on his majesty's escape ; and three years afterwards, when the king had recovered from the dreadful malady with which he had been afflicted, the metropolis was one scene of gaiety and joy ; when the first moments of exultation had subsided, they crowded to the altar, and joined their majesties in returning thanks to that Being who has the hearts of kings in his keeping, and who chasteneth those whom he loveth.

The French revolution was one of those moral convulsions, the effects of which are not limited to the immediate scene of its operations. The very name of liberty was so associated with all the feelings of Englishmen, that they hailed its appearance with transport in a country which had long been considered as their natural or political enemy : but, as in times of political effervescence, some ardent minds will overstep the bounds of discretion, it was not to be surprised, that a portion, even of the population of London, should sigh for institutions they had been led to believe were more liberal than their own. Political associations were formed, which, at a less critical moment, would have excited no alarm ; and individuals were prosecuted, whose plans might have been sufficiently watched and defeated by a vigilant police, yet it is difficult to censure government even for an un-

necessary vigour in preserving the country from the horrors of a revolution.

The prosecution of Messrs. Tooke, Hardy, Thellwall, and Bonney, in 1794, on a charge of high treason, was, perhaps, ill-advised, though the result proved a triumph to civil liberty ; for it was on this trial that the doctrine of constructive treason, which, in a darker period of our history had sent many to the block, was overturned by the eloquence of an Erskine and a Gibbs. A less exceptionable mode of counteracting the spread of sedition was afterwards adopted by the formation of loyal associations. The dread of an insurrection in this country, when the scenes, which had been acted in Paris, might be re-acted in the British metropolis, now excited alarm, and a meeting was held at Merchant Tailors' Hall, of 3000 of the principal merchants, bankers, and traders of the capital, who agreed to a declaration of attachment to the constitution, which, in a few days, was signed by upwards of 8000 individuals, the most respectable for rank, character, and property.

But nothing tended so much to heal the political dissensions, which, at this period, distracted the country as well as the metropolis, as the war which was commenced between this country and France. The court of common council even addressed his majesty, to thank him "for his paternal care in the preservation of the public tranquillity," and assured him of "the readiness and determination of his faithful citizens to support the honour of his crown, and the welfare of his kingdoms, against the ambitious designs of France."

Some tumults, but not of a political nature, occurred about this time, in which some crimping houses, and decoy houses for recruiting, were destroyed by the mob : the pop-gun plot, in which three persons were apprehended for a conspiracy to assassinate the king, also excited some alarm, but after the persons had been confined a few months, they were liberated : not but that there were individuals capable of committing the most daring outrages, even on their sovereign, who, in proceeding to open the parliament, in October, 1795, was beset by a mob, said to amount to 100,000 persons : they assailed his majesty with seditious cries ; several stones were also thrown at the royal carriage, and one of the glass pannels was broken by a bullet either of lead or marble. The Earl of Westmoreland and the Earl of Onslow, who were in the carriage with his majesty, exclaimed, " this is a shot ;" but the king felt no alarm : after he had opened the session, and entered his carriage amidst the various projects that were suggested for his safety, he, with great piety and magnanimity, said, " well, my lords, one person is *proposing* this, and another is *supposing* that, forgetting that there is one above us all who *disposes* of every thing, and on whom alone we can depend." On the return of his majesty, the mob was still more outrageous ; volleys of stones were thrown at the carriage, several of which hit the king, as the glasses were all broken to pieces. The king took one pebble out of the cuff of his coat, where it had lodged, and gave it to Earl Onslow, saying, " I make you a present of this, as a mark of the civilities we have met with on our journey to-day."

His majesty, on alighting, was enabled to reach

the palace through the exertions of an Irish gentleman, who opened a passage for him, and was afterward rewarded with a situation of 650*l.* a year. Yet undismayed by the dangers he had passed, the king, after remaining a short time at St. James's Palace, proceeded in his private carriage, and without a military escort, to Buckingham House. The mob again beset his majesty, and proceeded so far as to attempt to force open the door of his carriage, when a party of the horse-guards came up, and rescuing their sovereign escorted him in safety to the Queen's palace.

While a misguided populace were thus insulting one of the best of monarchs, the monied interest of London was manifesting the strongest marks of confidence in his Majesty's conduct. The exigencies of the times requiring extraordinary supplies, Mr. Pitt, who calculated largely—but not erroneously, on the disposition of the city, proposed raising a voluntary loan of eighteen millions sterling, and on the 1st of December, 1796, communicated his project to the lord mayor, requesting him to make it known to the corporation and public companies. Had the minister offered to lend the sum, instead of asking to borrow it, he could not have been answered more promptly. The bank lent one million, and in four days the whole sum was subscribed, so that when the court of common council voted 100,000*l.* on the morning of the fifth day, it was admitted only as a favour.

Two years afterwards the merchants, bankers, and traders of London determined on aiding government with a voluntary subscription, which, in the course of a few hours on the day it was proposed in the Royal Exchange, amounted to 46,500*l.*; the Bank added

200,000*l.* and the court of common council 10,000*l.*; and in the course of a very short time, the subscription amounted to nearly two millions.

The vigour with which the war was prosecuted, the patience with which the people submitted to every privation, and the joy with which peace was hailed, are events which belong to the history of great Britain, and not to London in particular. The peace was, however, of short duration, and the government found the people ready for new sacrifices.

The domestic history of this period was marked by a conspiracy to overturn the constitution, when Colonel Despard and other persons of the lower class of society were arrested at a public-house—the Oakley arms, Oakley-street. In the month of February 1803, ten of them were convicted of high-treason, and on the 21st of that month, Despard and six others were executed on the top of Horsemonger gaol, Southwark; their heads were cut off and exhibited to the crowd, but the other part of the usual sentence on traitors was remitted.

During the long war that ensued, party politics were carried to a great length, not only in the senate, but also in the city council, and on more than one occasion the citizens were divided in their sentiments, as to the measures of government: a new call for men or money, or a new opportunity of testifying their loyalty, was however sure to unite all ranks and parties, and no loyalty could be less equivocal than that which was manifested in the metropolis on the 25th of October, 1809, when his late majesty entered the 50th year of his reign, and which was celebrated as a jubilee. The arms of France had triumphed over

every continental power, and England, left to continue the struggle single-handed, had swept the ocean of her enemies, and sighed for new worlds to conquer—or a new stage on which to renew the combat, when the Spaniards began to shake of the lethargy which had placed them beneath the yoke of the Gallic emperor. England was not backward in her aid, and the city of London, equally prompt, opened a subscription for the Spanish army, which in the course of a few weeks amounted to upwards of fifty thousand pounds. The contest was obstinate, and the issue long doubtful, when a domestic event created an alarming sensation in the metropolis. On the evening of the 11th of May 1812, as Mr. Percival, the chancellor of the exchequer, was entering the lobby of the house of commons, he was shot by a person of the name of John Bellingham. In the first moment of alarm it was feared that this sanguinary act might only be part of a deep laid and extensive conspiracy against government, but it was soon discovered, that it was the single act of an assassin, who had become desperate by misfortune, and imagined that government had not afforded him the protection to which he was entitled in his commercial intercourse with Russia. The wretched man, who made no attempt to escape, was taken into custody, tried and convicted at the Old Bailey, on the Friday following, and on Monday the 18th he was executed.

From the time that his present majesty was appointed Regent, in January 1811, in consequence of the malady with which his royal sire was afflicted, the success of the British arms became as signal on land as it hitherto had been at sea ; and often were

the tranquil pursuits of the citizens interrupted by the roar of the Park and Tower guns, announcing some new victory obtained by our gallant troops in the Peninsula under the illustrious Wellington, until even victory lost its novelty, and the people of England felt more joy in giving peace to France than they had done in all their triumphs over her.

The treaty concluded at Paris, on the 30th of May 1814, gave peace to Europe, after a war of more than twenty years duration; and on the 8th of the following month, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and two of his sons, with several of the Austrian, Russian and Prussian generals who had most distinguished themselves, visited London, and were treated by the court and the city with true English hospitality.

The war which had for some time been carried on between Great Britain and the United States of America, was terminated by the Treaty of Ghent; but scarcely had the nation felt the blessings of peace, when Napoleon, the emperor of France, who, on his abdication, had chosen and been allowed the Isle of Elba for his residence, returned to France, and in a march to Paris which has no parallel in history, overturned the government of the Bourbons, and reseatd himself on the Imperial throne, without drawing a sword, or firing a musket. The clangor of arms again resounded through Europe. The British troops, under the command of the Duke of Wellington, were cantoned in the Netherlands, and the Prussians soon marched to their support. The battle of Waterloo followed—a battle more obstinate, and more important in its results than any that

is recorded in modern times. This victory completed the triumph of the British arms ; the allied armies again entered Paris ; Bonaparte surrendered himself to the British nation, and was sent to the Island of St. Helena, where the Imperial Exile died on the 5th of May 1821. The last affair in which the British arms were engaged, was one honourable to humanity—the bombardment of Algiers and the liberation of Christian slaves from captivity.

Domestic calamities and domestic dissensions succeeded the war ; the Princess Charlotte of Wales, who had been married to Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, in the preceding year, died on the 6th of November, 1817, in child-bed, to the great grief of the whole nation ! never perhaps did the metropolis wear an aspect of such profound and sincere grief as on the day of her funeral : all business was suspended, and the churches and chapels were unable to contain the numbers that crowded to acknowledge their submission to the will of the divine Being who “ giveth and taketh away.”

For some time previous to this period, several meetings had taken place in Spa-fields, and other places, for the avowed purpose of petitioning or remonstrating with the government. One of these meetings was held on the 2nd of December 1816, and was followed by riots in the city. Some pawn-brokers' and gunsmiths' shops were robbed and several outrages committed, Four persons were arrested for high-treason and tried, but were acquitted. One of the rioters was, however, convicted and executed.

The metropolis was still in an unsettled state, and in January 1818, it was deemed necessary to suspend

the Habeas Corpus Act, which for some time restrained the disaffected ; until the Cato Street Conspiracy was discovered in 1820, when nine persons were secured in a small stable-loft, where they had assembled on the night fixed upon for assassinating his majesty's ministers, while assembled at dinner at the house of Lord Harrowby. Thistlewood, who had been tried for high-treason in 1817, and who was at the head of the conspiracy, escaped, but was soon afterwards arrested. The plan fixed upon was, that Thistlewood should knock at Lord Harrowby's door and present a red box, such as ministers convey despatches in from one to another, desiring it to be delivered to the cabinet ministers without delay. While the servant went to deliver the message, Thistlewood was to open the door to the other conspirators, when the whole body would rush up stairs and assassinate the ministers. Several pistols, swords, and hand grenades, were found in the room where the conspirators assembled.

Eleven of the conspirators were committed to the Tower, five of whom were tried for high treason and convicted. Six others were allowed to plead guilty. On the 29th of April the five traitors, Thistlewood, Tidd, Brunt, Ings, and Davidson, were executed in the Old Bailey. When the bodies had been suspended for half an hour, they were cut down, and their heads cut off and exhibited to the populace. The crowd assembled to witness the execution was immense ; all the houses that could command the most distant view of the scaffold were crowded ; a guinea was charged for leave to stand at one of the windows, and the persons who paid such a price for their curiosity, took their station on the preceding evening.

Since this time, the tranquillity of the metropolis has not been interrupted by any political event, but the citizens have been left to pursue their avocations undisturbed by foreign or domestic dissensions.

THE STREETS OF THE METROPOLIS.

It is remarkable that of all the works that have been published relative to London, there has never been a map engraved to exhibit the boundaries of the metropolis at different periods, and thus point out its gradual advancement to its present size. An attentive observer, well versed in the history of his country, would, however, find little difficulty in tracing the progress of London by the names of the streets, though many of them would certainly rack his ingenuity excessively, as affording no clue by which the date of their erection can be ascertained.

Many of the streets are named after the proprietors of the ground on which they are built; this is very much the case with the squares, particularly the modern ones. No person, however, will doubt that Hanover Square was built about the time that the present family ascended the throne of these realms; particularly, as one of the principal streets leading from it is called George Street. The attachment of the citizens to their sovereign might also be inferred from the names of their streets, as there are not fewer than seventy-eight streets, lanes, and courts, &c., called after the name of the four sovereigns of the house of Hanover.

Soho-square also bears in its name a good criterion by which to judge of its antiquity. This square was

first called Monmouth-square, or Monmouth-place, and the celebrated duke of that name lived on the south side of it; but, on the defeat and execution of the unfortunate prince, the square was ordered to be called King's-square: and a statue of Charles II. was erected in the middle of it. The duke's friends, for he was highly popular, resisted the alteration, and a sort of compromise was effected, by calling it Soho-square; as soho was the watchword of the battle in which the duke was taken, they thus preserved a distant remembrance of their favourite.

The names, titles, and country residences of our nobility are often perpetuated in our squares and streets, particularly those of the dukes of Bedford, Portland, and Grafton; but more remarkable instances of this are to be met with in the Strand. In the one instance we have the name, and titles, and baronial residence of the dukes of Norfolk, perpetuated in the streets, which are called Howard, Norfolk, Arundel, and Surrey; the other instance is still more curious: near the Adelphi, streets are called in honour of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham: thus there is George-street, Villier's-street, Duke-street, Off-alley, and Buckingham-street. Near the same place, the paternal affection of two brothers, Robert and John Adams, is recorded in the *Adelphi*, and the streets called after their respective christian names as well as their surname.

Our naval and military heroes, and the battles they fought, have numerous monuments in brick or stone, in the names of the streets, and these furnish an excellent clue to the period of their erection. No person would hesitate to fix the date of Blenheim or

Marlborough-streets, any more than he would Nelson-streets, Trafalgar-streets, Wellington-streets, and Waterloo-streets, which of late years have become so numerous. Eighteen places in London are named in honour of Nelson, and eleven after the great battle in which he conquered and died. The Great Captain, considering that his fame is more recent, has been equally honoured, for we have fourteen Wellington-streets, places, &c., and ten named in honour of the battle of Waterloo.

Our statesmen have also been honoured with a niche in the street topography, as our Chatham-places, and Pitt-streets bear witness.

Several of the London streets, particularly those which are not very modern, have received their names from some peculiarity belonging to them, or some event with which they were connected.

Pall-mall was so called on account of its being the place where pall-mall, a game, resembling the golf, was practised in England, during the reign of Charles II.; and Piccadilly was named after *Pickadill*, an article of dress by the sale and manufacture of which one Higgins, a tailor, amassed a large fortune, and built a few houses on this spot.

Giltspur-street, and Knight-rider-str. were so called, from the circumstance of the knights riding up these streets in their gilt spurs, on their way from the Tower to the tournaments in Smithfield. Smithfield itself was originally Smooth-field; Cuper's stairs is a corruption of Cupid's stairs; and Aldermanbury was so called from the mayor and aldermen holding their berry or court there.

In the time of Fitz-Stephen the streets of London

had each some distinct trade, which was almost exclusively carried on in it, and thus the city represented a modern market or an eastern bazaar. This congregating or classing of the trades and employments is still perpetuated in the names of several streets even in the present day, such as *Bread-street*, *Milk-street*, *Fish-street-hill*, *Corn-hill*, the *Poultry*, the *Vintry*, *Hosier-lane*, *Shoe-lane*, *Leather-lane*, &c. Butcher-rows are still numerous, and the great mart for the slaughtering of cattle, *Butcher-hall-lane*, not only retains its name but much of its character.

Bucklersbury was in former times chiefly inhabited by druggists, who sold all sorts of herbs, green as well as dry; and hence Shakspeare, who suffered no local custom or peculiarity to escape him, says, in his *Merry Wives of Windsor*, "Come, I cannot cog, and say thou art this and that, like a many of these lipping hawthorn buds, that come like women in men's apparel, and smell like *Bucklersbury* in simple time." Decker also notices this characteristic of Bucklersbury, which continued to distinguish it until the fire of London effected a revolution in trades as well as streets. During the plague in the preceding year, it was observed that the houses of the Bucklersbury druggists or herbalists, were exempt from this dreadful visitation.

Eastcheap was not merely memorable for being the scene of the revels of our fifth Harry, and the facetious knight, Sir John Falstaff; it was formerly celebrated for the number of its eating houses, as we learn by Lidgate's song of the "*London Lickpenny*," written in the reign of Henry V. In this song, the monk of Bury gives an account of a countryman

coming to London, and the various temptations he met with, describing the streets most noted for the sale of some particular article. Thus he says, when he came to Westcheap he was called on to buy fine linen, Paris threads, and other linen clothes; in Cornhill, old apparel and household stuff presented themselves; and in Eastcheap "the cookes cried hot ribs of beefe roasted, pies well baked, and other victuals; there was clattering of pewter pots, harpe, pipe, and sawtrie; some sang of Jenkin and Julian, &c. all which melodie liked well the passenger, but he wanted money to abide by it, and therefore got him into a Gravesende barge and home into Kent."

Cornhill originally received its name from its being the principal market whence the city was supplied with corn. It does not appear that the factors lived in the street, but that stalls were erected, at which they attended on market days. The houses were at that time chiefly occupied by respectable drapers, who were so numerous as to be formed into a distinct guild, under the title of the "drapers of Cornhill." The drapers, on leaving this street, were succeeded by a less respectable class of dealers in old clothes, who did not appear to have been very particular as to what they bought; for Stowe says, "I have read of a countryman, that having lost his hood in Westminster-hall, found the same in Cornhill, hanged out to be sold, which he challenged." The building of the Royal Exchange restored Cornhill to its respectability, which it has ever since maintained.

Lombard-street was so called from its being the residence of the merchants of Lombardy, who settled here. In this street the husband of the celebrated

Jane Shore lived; the house No. 43 is said to have been his residence, where he carried on the business of a silversmith, a trade which was continued on the same premises from the time of Shore until within the last twenty years.

Shoreditch is traditionally said to have derived its name from this unfortunate woman having died there, as related in an old ballad in the Pepys collection at Cambridge, entitled, "The woeful Lamentation of Jane Shore," where he thus ludicrously records the melancholy event:—

" I'm weary of my life ; at length
I yielded up my vital strength
Within a ditch of loathsome scent,
Where carrion dogs did much frequent,
The which now since my dying daye
Is *Shoreditch* called, as authors say."

But notwithstanding the assertion in this ballad, and the common tradition, there is reason to believe that Jane Shore had no connexion with Shoreditch, which is supposed to have been so called from its being a sewer-ditch.

Although the streets of London are not now, as formerly, generally distinguished by any particular trade, yet it is the case with many of them. Pater-noster-row is still full of booksellers; and several other streets are celebrated for the sale of some particular article.

The narrow obscure alleys on the north side of the Strand, and west of Exeter Change, of which there are still several, were formerly called the Bermudas. As

they were chiefly occupied by persons who had occasion to live concealed, the name is supposed to have been given to them, on account of its being common with fraudulent debtors to escape to the Bermuda Islands when they were first settled : so persons taking refuge from their creditors in these intricate alleys, were said to have run away to the Bermudas. These alleys were also called the *Streights*, and Ben Jonson in his Epistle to Sir Edward Dorset, alludes to them under both these cant names.

“ Turn pyrates here at land,
Ha’ their Bermudas and their Streights i’ th’ Strand.”

COSTUME.

The influence of the metropolis on the rest of the British empire is perhaps exhibited in nothing more strongly, than in its regulating the costume in which all his majesty’s liege subjects appear, and this it does more effectually than the most rigorous sumptuary law. This influence is of considerable advantage to London, which not only supplies wardrobes for ladies and gentlemen in distant parts of the country, but it attracts a host of tailors, dress-makers, and milliners, who periodically come up to town in order “ to study the fashions,” which, proteus-like, are perpetually assuming a new shape and appearance.

Great attention appears to have been paid to dress in London at an early period, so much so, that Matthew of Paris complains of the nobility and knights, who attended at the marriage of Henry III., being

“ wantonly adorned with garments of silk, and so transformed with abundance of ornaments, that it would be impossible particularly to describe their dresses without being tiresome to the reader, though they might indeed excite his astonishment.” The astonishment, it is probable, chiefly arose from the novelty of silk garments, which had been recently introduced into this country.

Emulation in dress soon began to supersede all legislative enactments, and so early as the reign of Edward the Second, “ the squire endeavoured to out-shine the knight in the richness of his apparel; the knight the baron, the baron the earl, and the earl, the king himself.” This was still more the case in the reign of Edward III., who not only despoiled France of her laurels, but also of a good portion of her wardrobe, of which “ every woman of rank obtained a share,” so that, says Thomas of Walsingham, “ the ladies became vain and haughty in their attire.” At length the parliament interfered, and in the 37th year of the reign of that monarch, passed a law “ against the general usage of wearing apparel not suited either to the degree or income of the people.” By this law, a copy of which is preserved in the Harleian MSS., vol. 7059, it was ordered, that “ merchants, citizens, burgesses, artificers, and tradesmen, as well in the city of London, or elsewhere, who are in the possession of the full value of 500*l.* in goods and chattels, may with their wives and children use the same clothing as the esquires and gentlemen, who have a yearly income of 1000*l.*, and so in proportion, the qualification of the citizen being five times that required of esquires.”

The law does not appear to have been very rigidly enforced even during the reign of this monarch, and at his death the citizens indulged in greater excesses of apparel than ever; nor was there any attempt made to restrain it until the reign of Edward IV., when parliament again interfered, and passed new laws, with an exception in favour of certain official persons. The lord-mayor and his lady were allowed to wear the same dress as knights bachelors—velvet or figured sattin; and the recorder and aldermen, with their wives, to use the same apparel as esquires and gentlemen.

Luxury in dress still continued to increase, notwithstanding the legislative enactments to prevent it, and had attained to such a pitch in the city in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that the municipal government interposed its authority; when in the year 1582, the lord-mayor and common council made a set of laws for regulating the dress of the apprentices. They decreed, "That no apprentice whatsoever should presume to wear any apparel but what he received from his master;" that he should "wear no hat, nor any thing but a woollen cap, without any silk in or about the same, neither ruffles, cuffs, loose collars, nor other thing than a ruff at the collar, and that only of a yard and half long. To wear no doublets but what were made of canvas, fustian, sackcloth, English leather or woollen, without any gold, silver, or silk trimming. To wear no other coloured cloth or kersey in hose or stockings, than white, blue, or russet. To wear no other breeches but what shall be of the same stuff as the doublets, and neither stitched, laced, or bordered. To wear no other

than a plain upper coat of cloth or leather, without pinching, stitching, edging, or silk about it. To wear no other surtout than a cloth gown or cloak lined or faced with cloth, cotton, or baize, with a fixed round collar, without stitching, guarding, lace, or silk."

A passion for foreign articles of dress seems to have prevailed at this time, and the city, anxious to protect our own manufacture, restrained the apprentices from wearing slippers or shoes made of any thing but English leather: nor were they permitted to wear any sword, dagger, or other weapon, except a knife, nor any ring or jewel of gold. The apprentice offending against these regulations, was "to be punished at the discretion of the master for the first offence—to be publicly whipped at the hall of his company for a second offence, and to serve six months longer than specified in his indentures for a third offence."

If the London apprentices really suffered themselves to be restrained from adorning their master's cast-off clothes with a piece of silk trimming, they must have possessed less spirit than they have generally had credit for. While the citizens were so anxious to prevent their apprentices from imitating them in their dress, they were aping that of knights and courtiers, from whom they were only distinguished by their magisterial habiliments. The ordinary dress of the principal citizens in the beginning of the seventeenth century, was a broad velvet or felt hat, a slashed doublet and short cloak, a ruff, and sometimes a plain collar: to trace its variations from that time, would be to write a history of fashion, which has been continually changing; although the magisterial robes of the citizens

have continued unchanged for some time, nor is it any reproach that they feel proud of them, as they are generally the reward of honest industry.

The satirical Bishop Earle, in his 'Microcosmographia,' insinuates that the citizens were very economical of their robes. The meer alderman, he says, "is venerable in his gown, more in his beard, wherewith he sets not forth so much his own, as the face of a city. He makes very much of his authority, but more of his satindoublet, which, though of good years, bears its age very well, and looks fresh every Sunday; but his scarlet gown is a monument, and lasts from generation to generation."

Much as costume has varied of late years, it has been decidedly for the better, and both sexes never dressed more chastely or more appropriately than they do at present; though now as formerly, there are some who affect singularity, and not possessing sufficient merit to render them conspicuous, seek to attract attention by the foppery of their dress.

MANNERS OF THE CITIZENS.

The bluntness, honesty, and reserved character of the citizens of London, has always subjected them to misrepresentation by foreigners, who have never done them justice, seldom judged favourably, and often committed the most ludicrous blunders in speaking of them. Though kind and hospitable, the London citizens feel a conscious superiority and self-satisfaction, which is often mistaken for pride and hauteur. Your London citizen is no cosmopolite—it is his creed to

believe no country like England, no city like its metropolis, no point of ambition higher than that of Lord Mayor, and no day in the calendar so worthy of observation, as the 9th of November, when the tables of Guildhall groan beneath the city banquet. "He is," says an old writer of the time of Charles the First, "one who loves to hear the famous arts of citizens;" but with all the apparent selfishness, he has a purse always open for works of charity, and never inquires whether the object of it has been a friend or foe.

Foreigners, however, have entertained a very different opinion of the London citizens, of whose real character they have manifested a singular ignorance.

Brunelli Latini, an Italian, who visited England in the reign of Henry the Third, gives a singular account of the London citizens, whom he describes as "a very turbulent, restless, and dissatisfied people; and did not the Legate interfere from time to time, to aid the king's authority, they could not be kept within any proper bounds; happily for them and the whole people, whenever the Legate threatens them with the vengeance of the holy church, they become more moderate, and thus the interdict of our holy father the Pope quiets every tumult and commotion."

Cosmo II. the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who visited the court of Charles II., says, "the common people of London giving way to their natural inclination, are proud, arrogant, and uncivil to foreigners, against whom, and especially the French, they entertain a great prejudice, and cherish a profound hatred, treating such as come among them with contempt and insult. The nobility, though also proud, have not so usually the defects of the lower orders, displaying a

certain degree of politeness and courtesy towards strangers.

The gallantry of the Grand Duke elicits from him a more favourable character of the ladies. "The women of London," he says, "are not inferior to the men, either in stature, or in beauty, for they are all of them handsome, and for the most part tall, with black eyes, abundance of light coloured hair, and a neatness which is extreme; their only personal defect being their teeth, which are not, generally speaking, very white. The liberty authorized by the custom of the country dispenses with that rigorous constraint and reservedness, which are practised by the women in other countries, and they go whithersoever they please, either alone or in company; and those of the lower order frequently go so far, as to play at ball publicly in the streets."

The writers of the present age have scarcely been more liberal, although it might have been expected, that a more frequent intercourse with the British capital, together with the removal of those prejudices which rendered nations so slow to acknowledge each other's merits, might have produced a more candid and a more correct estimate of the English character.

General Pillet, who knew nothing of England, but what he had learned on board of one of our prison ships, libelled our character sadly; and yet, ignorant and scandalous as he was, an American journalist praised his work, as exhibiting a very correct view of English manners.

During a season of war, and a war carried on with such hostility, as that between England and France, it could scarcely be expected that the writers of either country would speak very favorably of the other, yet

few persons would expect so ludicrous a picture of London, as appeared in the French official journal, the *Moniteur*, in the year 1811. "To know the reduced situation of England," says the editor, "you have only to take a view of the present condition of her capital. The distressed merchants, constrained to reduce the number of their draught-horses, now convey their merchandise on the foot-pavement in *brouettes* (wheelbarrows), so that which used to be the promenade for ladies, is now become as ruinous and filthy as the streets. Soon after night-fall almost a total darkness prevails, from the inability of the inhabitants to pay the oil-tax for their lamps, which, like that on windows or daylight, is become excessive. Scarcely a midnight orgie now enlivens their mansions of distinction; even Dovershire-house (Devonshire-house, we presume, is here meant) no longer shines with splendour, and the sounds of the lute and harp have given way to the clangor of the watchmen's rattles, as alarms to the affrighted housekeeper to guard his property against the nocturnal acts of masked depredators. All dramatic and harmonic taste is fled. The only remaining theatre royal being deserted, is turned into a *maison de cheval* (riding-house), and Mesdames Brislington (Billington) and Catalani sing now at the Sadler's Wells—the chief resort of entertainment for sailors and handicraftsmen of the day!"

Thus was the British metropolis libelled in 1811: the French are now, however, better acquainted with it, and it is to be hoped are more liberal.

CHRISTMAS IN THE OLDEN TIME.

What true-born Englishman can ever forgive the Long Parliament, if it had committed no other crime than that of enacting, "that no observation shall be had of the five-and-twentieth day of December, commonly called Christmas-day, nor any solemnity used or exercised in churches, in respect thereof?" No wonder that Cromwell should, a few months afterwards, put an end to their legislation, and tell them they had made an ill use of their power. Surely the London apprentices had become degenerate, or the cry of "clubs" would have resounded from Whitehall to Whitechapel; when those lords of misrule, the Long Parliament, would have been a parliament no longer.

Allusion has already been made to the feasting of the London citizens in the olden time, but at no season of the year was this so conspicuous as at Christmas. It was the banquets at this period, that made Massinger, with the true pride of a London citizen, say :

"Men may talk of country Christmasses,
Their thirty pound butter'd eggs;
Their pies of carps' tongues, their pheasants drenched
with

Amber grease, the carcasses of their fat
Wethers bruis'd for gravy, to make sauce for
A single peacock; yet their feasts were fasts
Compar'd with the city's."

The poet then describes the city feast as containing
'three sucking pigs served up in a dish, a fortnight

fed with dates and muscadine," that cost "twenty marks a piece." The dishes were "raised over one another, as woodmongers do billets," and "most of the shops of the best confectioners in London, ransacked to furnish out a banquet."

Christmas in London became so attractive, that many country gentlemen, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, resorted to the metropolis, in order to spend the festive season in town, to the displeasure of her majesty, who ordered, that the gentlemen of Norfolk and Suffolk should "depart from London before Christmas, and repaire to their counties, and there to keep hospitality amongst their neighbours."

No persons knew better than the London citizens that "'tis merry in hall, when beards wag all," and they took care that their tables should be covered not only at the dinner on Christmas-day, but during all the Christmas holidays. The "jolly wassail bowl" was not suffered to remain empty—and no guest, whether invited or not, quitted a house during the Christmas without partaking of its hospitality: then was heard

"The hapless cripple, tuning through the street
His carol new."

The houses, the churches, and even the very conduits in the streets, were decked with evergreens, and he must have been a grave citizen, indeed, who did not relax from his severity on such occasions, and join in the Christmas sports.

The Christmas amusements of our ancestors did not consist in a "round game at cards," or a dance, but in *mummings*—and in the revels of the Lord of Mis-

rale; nor were these the sports of the humbler inhabitants of London, but of the sovereign and his court—of the lord mayor and alderman, and of the inns at court, where Christmas was celebrated with great spirit. The lawyers, who frequently entertained the nobility at Christmas, did not spend it so innocently as the citizens, for they indulged in gaming to a great extent. In an old play by Rowley, called *A Match at Midnight*, the frequency of gaming at the Christmas revels in the inns of court is thus alluded to. “Worth so much! I know my master will make dice of them; then ’tis but letting Master Alexander carry them next Christmas to the Temple, he’ll make a hundred marks a night of them.”

The monarch at Christmas laid aside the crown and sceptre, and statesmen unbended from the cares of empire, and joined the citizens in their pastimes. Andrews, in his *History of Great Britain*, gives an account of a splendid celebration of Christmas in the year 1348, when “eight teniers of buckram, forty-two visors, and a great variety of other whimsical articles of dress were provided for the disguisings at court, at the feast of Christmas.”

Stowe has preserved an account of a remarkable entertainment, given by the citizens for the amusement of the young Prince Richard, son of the Black Prince, at the Christmas of 1377. The prince and his mother were residing at Kennington at the time, and the citizens, one hundred and thirty in number, proceeded in the night, disguised and well mounted, from Newgate, through the city, over London-bridge, “through Southwark, and so to Kennington.” They marched to the sound of trumpets, sackbuts, and

other instruments, and were guided by "innumerable torches of wax." In the first rank "rode forty-eight in the habits of esquires, two and two, clothed in red coats or gowns of say or sandal, with vizors on their faces. After these came riding forty-eight knights, in a livery of the same stuff and colour. Then followed one arrayed richly like an emperor, and after him one like a pope, followed by twenty-four cardinals; and after them eight or ten in black vizors, as legates from some foreign princes."

When the masquerading citizens arrived at the palace, they were received in the hall by the prince, his mother, and the lords, whom "they saluted," and then producing a pair of dice, indicated their wish to play with the Prince. Richard consented, and the mummers, with the tact of the most practised courtiers, "so managed it, that the prince always won whenever he threw." They first staked a bowl of gold, then a gold cup, and lastly a gold ring, all of which he won at three several throws of the dice. Nor were the citizens deficient in gallantry, for they engaged the prince's mother and several of the lords to play, staking gold rings which they contrived to lose to them: "after which they were feasted, and the music playing, the prince, lords, and mummers, all danced; which being over, they again drank, and departed in good order as they came."

When Henry IV. kept his Christmas at Eltham, twelve aldermen of London and their sons rode there "a mumming, and were well received."

It was customary in those times to elect a Lord of Misrule, or master of the Revels, who presided over the sports. Such an officer was in the houses of the

king, the nobles, and the lord mayor and the sheriffs, "ever concluding without quarrel or offence, who should make the most diversion for the beholders."

Ben Jonson describes the Lord of Misrule, who was sometimes called the Christmas Prince, as dressed in "a velvet cap, with a sprig, a short cloak, a great yellow ruff like a reveller." The lord of misrule, as well as the king elected on Twelfth night, were no doubt borrowed from *Rex Convivii*, or *Arbiter bibendi*, of the Romans.

The Christmas festivities were extended for several days, and in some instances, for weeks. New year's day and Twelfth day, being kept with distinct and very splendid honours.



The Tower.

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